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**THE SPANISH GREENS AND THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY
SOCIAL MOVEMENT: A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

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PhD in Politics
The University of Edinburgh
2012

Declaration

10th of February, 2012

I declare that, except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is entirely my own work, and that no part of it has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Ann McFall

Abstract

The present study sets out to challenge a common assumption that Green politics is virtually non-existent in Spain. This assumed state of affairs has been attributed to a number of factors including a materialist society which prioritises economic growth, Spain's political culture and, finally, the country's electoral system. The result, according to the few scholars who include Spain in their studies, is a country with a weak political ecology social movement (PESM) and a Green party that enjoys only 'trivial support' (Mair 2001:103).

As will be demonstrated, such assumptions are based on an insufficient knowledge of political ecology in Spain. The lack of knowledge has resulted in Spain's green movements and parties being routinely misinterpreted and, indeed, overlooked. The first and most glaring misconception is many scholars' persistence in referring to the 'Spanish Green party' as if a single party existed. In fact, the 'Spanish Greens' comprise not one national party but a variable and variegated number of different political parties, a few of which have certainly achieved a measure of electoral success (depending, of course, on how success is defined). Furthermore, it will be shown that reasons often given for the failure of the Green parties – such as the country's alleged lack of interest in environmental matters – overlook other more pertinent factors such as, for example, tensions between the Spanish Greens and the environmental movement organisations (EMO), the nationalist factor and continuing tensions between the 'green-greens' and the 'red-greens'. Despite numerous problems at party level, the present study will show that Spain's PESM is as vigorous as – though different from – that of other countries which are reputed to be environmental leaders.

To pursue this argument, the thesis will provide an overview of Spain's Green parties, setting these within the cultural and historical context of the broader PESM to which they belong. Drawing on territorial politics literature, the thesis will, in particular, demonstrate that the territorial dimension – that is, Spain's division into 17 autonomous regions – has been one of the neglected but determining factors contributing to the problems besetting the Spanish Greens. It will also be argued that, in its own way, the efforts of Spanish ecologists have undoubtedly contributed towards the 'piecemeal' greening of Spain.

The arguments are further developed through two in-depth case studies focusing on political ecology, and more particularly Green parties, in two of Spain's regions, Catalonia and Andalusia.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my principal supervisor, Dr. Elizabeth Bomberg, for her endless patience, expertise, and her conscientious, extensive and extremely helpful comments on my work at every stage of this process. I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Dr. Wilfried Swenden, for his input – and most particularly for helping me to place my notions about sub-national politics within an already existing theoretical framework.

By and large, because I was a part-time student, and working full-time, I had relatively little contact with the university and benefitted little from the extra stimulation that this would have provided. Apart from being grateful to the university for its well-stocked library and its lovely location just off the Meadows (making travelling by bicycle to the University a great pleasure) I can't think of anyone else who I am beholden to.

However, my thanks must go above all to my extremely patient partner, Robert, who valiantly proof read my thesis in progress, acted as a sounding board and has therefore acquired unnecessary expertise on Spanish ecologism. I am, above all, very indebted to him for his support in doing much more than his fair share of running a home so that I could complete this thesis while working full-time.

I would also like to thank my bemused children, who have watched me perversely struggling on this thesis and have always desisted from making rude comments on the subject. The same goes for my colleagues. As I work in the Spanish section of a university languages department, three Spanish colleagues (Raquel, Pablo and José María) have provided endless salutary reminders of the fact that others are not so interested in the Spanish ecology movement! Special thanks go to one colleague, Pedro, for his insider knowledge on Andalusian Greens and its ecologists.

Last but not least, I would like to thank the Spanish ecologists who generously gave of their time and took great trouble to answer all my questions.

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THE USE OF ACRONYMS

Given the large number of Green parties and movements in Spain, most of which either contain the word ‘Green’ or ‘Ecologist’ in their title (in several languages), it has been difficult to find a way of introducing these in the text so that the reader’s job of recognising or remembering these parties is made easier. Numerous other parties and organisations are also mentioned, and the fact that the names are in Spanish and Catalan – as well as other languages spoken in Spain – could give rise to obfuscation and acronym-fatigue.

I have tried to anticipate problems and to be systematic about introducing any organisations into the narrative for the first time. The first time a party or organisation is mentioned the whole title is provided in the original language, followed by a translation into English and the acronym which is commonly used in Spain. Subsequent mention of the organisation in question will just use the acronym but readers may consult the list of acronyms (pp. 14-17) if necessary. In some cases, when the acronym stands for an excessively unwieldy title and is always referred to by its acronym, the text will use the acronym (but will, of course, list the full name in the list of acronyms).

A number of well-known acronyms such as NATO, EP, FOE are not included on the list. Occasionally, a Spanish term is used instead of its English equivalent, but its meaning is explained and is always clear from the context.

TRANSLATIONS

Any quotation or text that has been translated from Spanish by me is clearly indicated. I have put an asterisk just before the author’s name when providing the reference as follows: (*Blake 2007: 45).

LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | | |
|---------|--|--|
| ADENA | <i>Asociación por la Defensa de la Naturaleza</i> | Association for the Defense of Nature |
| AEDENAT | <i>Asociación Ecologista de Defensa de la Naturaleza</i> | Environmental Association for the Defence of Nature |
| AEORMA | <i>Asociación Española para la Ordenación del Territorio y el Medio Ambiente</i> | Spanish Association for Land Use and the Environment |
| AEPDEN | <i>Asociación de Estudios y Protección de la Naturaleza</i> | Association for the Study and Protection of Nature |
| AGADEN | <i>Asociación Gaditana de Defensa de la Naturaleza</i> | Cadiz Nature Defence Association |
| ASEED | | Action for Solidarity, Equality, Environment and Development in Europe |
| AV | <i>Alternativa Verda</i> | Green Alternative, a Catalan Green party |
| CAN | | Climate Action Network |
| CANC | <i>Comité Antinuclear de Catalunya</i> | Catalan Antinuclear Committee |
| CC OO | <i>Comisiones Obreras</i> | Workers' Commissions, the Spanish 'communist' trade union |
| CEPA | <i>Confederación Ecologista-Pacifista Andaluza</i> | The Andalusian Ecologist and Pacifist Confederation |
| CHA | <i>Chunta Aragonesista</i> | Aragon National Party |
| CIAMA | <i>Centro Internacional del Agua y el Medio Ambiente</i> | International Centre for Water and the Environment. Funded in 1971 |
| CIDN | <i>Consejo Ibérico para la Defensa de la Naturaleza</i> | Iberian Council for the Defense of Nature |
| CIS | <i>Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas</i> | Spanish Centre for Sociological Research |
| CiU | <i>Convergència i Unió</i> | Convergence and Union |
| CLV | <i>Confederación de los Verdes</i> | Confederation of the Greens |

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|---------|---|---|
| COAGRET | <i>Coordinadora de Afectados por los Grandes Embalses y Trasvases</i> | Movement for People Affected by Big Reservoirs and Transfers |
| CODA | <i>Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Defensa Ambiental</i> | Federation of Groups for the Defense of the Environment |
| CUP | <i>Candidatura d'Unitat Popular</i> | Popular Unity Candidates (a Catalan party that only stands at local elections) |
| CUT-BAI | <i>Colectivo de Unidad de los Trabajadores – Bloque Andaluz de Izquierdas</i> | Workers' United Group – the Andalusian Left-Wing Bloc |
| DEPANA | <i>Lliga Per A la Defensa del Patrimoni Natural</i> | League for the Defence of Catalonia's Natural Heritage |
| EA | <i>Ecologistas en Acción</i> | Ecologists in Action |
| EAA | <i>Ecologistas en Acción de Andalucía</i> | Ecologists in Action of Andalucia |
| EAC | <i>Ecologistas en Acción de Catalunya</i> | Ecologists in Action of Catalonia |
| EdC | <i>Ecologistes de Catalunya</i> | Catalan ecologists. A federation of Catalan EMOs. More important in Catalonia than EA |
| EEB | | European Environment Bureau |
| EFGP | | European Federation of Green Parties (1993-2004) |
| EGC | | European Green Coordination, a loose alliance 1984-1993 |
| EGP | | European Green Party (2004-) |
| EM | | Ecological modernisation |
| EMO | | Environmental Movement Organisation |
| EP-V | <i>Europa de los Pueblos-Verdes</i> | Peoples' Europe – Greens. A nationalist/left-wing coalition for EP elections |

| | | |
|---------|--|--|
| ERC | <i>Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya</i> | Catalan Republican Left |
| EU-EV | <i>Esquerra Unida-Els Verds</i> | United Left- Greens (Valencia) |
| EUiA | <i>Esquerra Unida i Alternativa</i> | United and Alternative Left |
| EV | <i>Els Verds</i> | This is often, but not always, the Catalan (or Valencian, or Balearic) variant of Los Verdes |
| EV-AE | <i>Els Verds-L'Alternativa Ecologista</i> | Greens – The Ecology Alternative (Catalans) |
| EV-GV | <i>Els Verds- Grup Verd</i> | Greens – Green Group (Catalan name for LVGV) |
| FAADN | <i>Federación de Asociaciones Andaluzas para la Defensa de la Naturaleza</i> | Andalusian Federation of Associations for the Defence of Nature |
| FAPAS | <i>Fondo para la protección de los animales salvajes</i> | Foundation for the Protect of Wild Animals |
| FNCA | <i>Fundación Nueva Cultura del Agua</i> | Foundation for a New Water Culture |
| GENET | | European NGO Network on Genetic Engineering |
| GOB | <i>Grup Balear d'Ornitologia i Defensa de la Naturalesa</i> | Balearic Group for Ornithology and for the Defense of Nature. |
| IC | <i>Iniciativa per Catalunya</i> | Initiative for Catalonia |
| IC-EV | <i>Iniciativa per Catalunya – Els Verds</i> | In Catalonia, the initial alliance between IC and the Greens |
| ICONA | <i>Instituto de Conservación de la Naturaleza</i> | Institute for Nature Conservancy. IUCN state member. Founded in 1971 |
| ICPS | <i>Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials</i> | Institute of Political and Social Science |
| ICV | <i>Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds</i> | Initiative for Catalonia Greens |
| IdPV | <i>Iniciativa del Poble Valencià</i> | Initiative for Valencia |
| INFORSE | | International Network for |

| | | |
|--------|--|---|
| | | Sustainable Energy |
| IU | <i>Izquierda Unida</i> | United Left |
| IUCN | | International Union for Conservation of Nature |
| IULVCA | <i>Izquierda Unida-Los Verdes-Convocatoria por Andalucía</i> | United Left – the Greens – Calling on Andalucía. IU’s name in Andalucía since 1993 |
| LVE | <i>Los Verdes Europeos</i> | The European Greens. A party that has presented candidates in a few Spanish regions. It is anti IU, pro the EGP and pro Greens maintaining an independent position. |
| LVE | <i>Los Verdes Ecologistas</i> | Green Ecologists. A rogue party in the early days of the Greens |
| LVGV | <i>Los Verdes Grupo Verde</i> | Greens-Green Group. A statewide party started up in 1994 as a result of the creation of CLV |
| MARM | <i>Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Medio Rural y Marino</i> | Ministry for the Environment and Rural and Maritime Affairs |
| PA | <i>Partido Andalucista</i> | Andalusian Nationalist Party |
| PACMA | <i>Partido Antitaurino Contra el Maltrato Animal</i> | Anti-Bullfighting and Animal Cruelty Party |
| PCA | <i>Partido Comunista Andaluz</i> | The Andalusian Communist Party |
| PCE | <i>Partido Comunista Español</i> | Spanish Communist Party |
| PESM | | Political Ecology Social Movement |
| PLI | | Popular legislative initiative |
| PSC | <i>Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya</i> | Catalan Socialist Party (PSOE sister party) |
| PSUC | <i>Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya</i> | Catalan Unified Socialist Party |
| SEO | <i>Sociedad Española de Ornitología</i> | The Spanish Ornithological Society |
| SOC | <i>Sindicato de Obreros del Campo</i> | Farm-Workers’ Trade Union |
| T&E | | Transport and Environment (org) |
| UGT | <i>Unión General de</i> | General Union of Workers |

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| | <i>Trabajadores</i> | |
| VERDE | <i>Vértice Español para la Reivindicación del Desarrollo Ecológico</i> | Spanish Vertex for the Demand for Environmental Development A 'rogue' statewide green party |
| ViE | <i>Verds i Ecopacifistes</i> | Greens and Ecopacifists |
| WWF/Adena | <i>World Wildlife Fund/Asociación para la defensa de la naturaleza</i> | The Association for the Defence of Nature |

CHAPTER 1: 'HARDLY A HISTORY OF UNADULTERATED SUCCESS?'

*'Progress is the realisation of
Utopias'*

(Wilde 1891)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The title of this introductory chapter is taken from an article by Mair (2001: 104) who argued in 2001 that, despite the academic interest and prominence given to Green parties in Europe, their electoral success had been limited and had even begun to recede. Citing the case of the emblematic *die Grünen* in Germany, Mair writes about their 'relatively low levels of electoral support' and 'quite a poor long-term performance' (Mair 2001: 100), and argues that their share of the vote is unlikely to increase substantially in the future. In 2001, the average vote polled for *die Grünen*, across the six federal elections they had contested, stood at 5.8%; since then there have been three federal elections (2002, 2005 & 2009) in which *die Grünen* have respectively polled 8.6%, 8.1% and 10.7% of the vote ([Álvarez-Rivera](#) 2009), thus refuting Mair's gloomy prognosis. This detail illustrates the difficulty of predicting future outcomes whilst furthermore demonstrating that the Greens are by no means a flash party. This observation is further corroborated by the Green Group's presence in the European Parliament (EP) where, since the 2009 EP elections, there are more Green MEPs (i.e. 47) than ever before¹. Nevertheless, there is some truth in Mair's more general contention that the considerable potential of European Green parties in the 1980s and 1990s failed to give rise to a new, powerful, political force:

Green parties, at best, remain electorally marginal and despite almost two decades of electoral contestation, they have failed to emerge as major actors on the political stage; moreover, they are also clearly performing substantially below potential, with their increased acceptability in the eyes of voters failing to translate into any significant electoral growth (Mair 2001: 107).

¹ This figure only refers to European Green Group (EGP) MEPs and does not include MEPs from the European Free Alliance (EFA) nationalist group which is part of the parliamentary group EGP/EFA and since 2009 has 55 MEPs (Lozano 2010)

Mair's study is primarily based on *die Grünen*, one of Europe's more successful Green parties, rather than on weaker Green parties such as those found in Spain which Mair dismisses as enjoying only 'trivial support' (Mair 2001: 103). Mair's brief allusion to the Spanish Greens is illustrative of the scant interest that Spain's Greens have received from most scholars.

The present study is therefore premised on the understanding that Green parties are a significant but minority option even where they are at their most successful. This premise helps to contextualise Spanish Green party politics: 'trivial support' for the Spanish Greens can be seen not as an aberration but as a more pronounced version of the political reality elsewhere in Europe (this study will confine itself to the European context). Another important consideration to bear in mind is that Green parties are not the only ecologists seeking to change society; the grassroots, local and transnational work undertaken by the PE social movement (PESM)² also contributes substantially to the greening of society. This study will therefore examine the broader movement, not only in order to contextualise the Spanish Greens' position, but also to stress the symbiotic links between these two groups of actors.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There is a widespread heuristic assumption that Green politics is virtually non-existent in Spain, in contrast with the situation in other European countries. But is this assumption correct? The present rather negative perception of Spain's engagement with Green politics is predicated on a number of factors: first and foremost, there is a misperception that Green politics is the primary preserve of Green parties, whereas I will argue that a study of Green politics should include all Green actors; secondly, very little academic writing on Europe's Green parties has dedicated more than a passing mention to the Spanish Greens (*Los Verdes*), consequently perpetuating their peripheral or outsider status; thirdly, there is a

² This is a ponderous but more accurate name for all environmental actors and groups who would define themselves as 'ecologists' – i.e. who more or less subscribe to the central tenets of PE or ecologism.

supposition that a low priority is accorded to post-materialist and, *ipso facto*, environmental issues in Spain (O'Neill 1997: 254; Pridham 1994: 81; Aguilar Fernández 2004; Jordan 2005). The value-related 'Mediterranean syndrome' thesis, although questioned by Kousis et al. (2008), is still used to explain why a country such as Spain lacks a viable Green party: '... the weakness of Green parties in Southern Europe may reflect lower levels of economic development and, consequently, the presence of fewer postmaterialists' (Carter 2007: 105-106).

This thesis will argue that it is incorrect to assume that Green politics is virtually non-existent in Spain. Despite their somewhat problematic trajectory, Spain's Greens have had some successes, have lasted more than 25 years and are commonly acknowledged to be part of the Spanish political system. Furthermore, the Spanish PESM □ far more influential than the Green parties □ is also actively involved in Green politics and should be factored into a study of 'Green politics' or PE in Spain.

The thesis also contends that Spanish PE, despite being labelled as weak by Spanish and other scholars, nevertheless has strengths that are only apparent when it is viewed from a more nuanced and more Hispano-centric perspective. It will also be argued that an irregular 'piecemeal strategy' – whereby the PESM (including the Green parties) adopts a series of divergent tactics which achieve specific, if small and isolated, policy gains – has been arguably as successful in greening Spain *according to its needs and resources* as strategies adopted in other supposedly 'greener' European countries. The notion of a 'piecemeal strategy' is taken from Dobson (2000: 129) who employs the term to critique Green politics, pointing to the 'tension and theoretical dislocation' that exists between the 'radical nature of the Green project' and the 'short-term, piecemeal progress gradually notched up by Greens'. Whilst accepting that these small gains hardly constitute a radical shift towards a Green democratic state (Eckersley 2004), I argue that this piecemeal strategy at least constitutes a step in the right direction and helps to disseminate and promote the ideas and values of PE.

In order to analyse Green politics in Spain, the thesis will provide an account of, not only the Spanish Greens, but also the PESM. This will demonstrate the complexities, the weaknesses but also the strengths of Green politics in Spain, and will highlight the need to study the Spanish case in depth before passing judgement. Once Spanish PE has been analysed carefully, it will be easier to answer two key questions posed by this thesis:

- 1 *Which key factors have hindered the consolidation of the Spanish Greens?*
- 2 *Does the Spanish Greens' weak electoral performance indicate a lack of interest in political ecology in Spain?*

Before outlining the main aims of the thesis I will briefly define my understanding of two key concepts included in the questions above.

In the present study, PE refers to a distinct ideology³ which Dobson (2000) defines as *ecologism*, and which is synonymous with Green politics. *Ecologism* is an alternative ideology adhered to by all individuals, parties or movements who prioritise environmental wellbeing over and above economic growth, are seeking a shift in social relationships, a more participatory democracy and a more egalitarian society; in short, they are seeking political changes which will result in the 'sustainable social, cultural, environmental and economic development of our societies on planet Earth' (European Green Party 2006). The labels *ecologists* and *ecologism* are also a literal translation of the Spanish term which uses the same label for all PE party or movement activists and supporters, regardless of their affiliation.

The term 'environmental politics', with its weak, 'reformist' (Dobson 2000) overtones, will be reserved to allude to an approach that advocates the introduction of discrete, environmentally-friendly policies within the existing *status quo*.

³ For arguments defending PE as a 'distinct' ideology, see Dobson (2000: 2).

The second concept requiring clarification is the identity of the Spanish Greens, often referred to as *Los Verdes* (the Greens) (O'Neill 1997; Holliday 1997; Karamichas 2004). As this study will show, the labelling of the Spanish Greens as 'a party' is a fictional (or aspirational) construct because there is no single party which can legitimately claim to be the principal Spanish Green Party. Over the years, as many as 102 different Green parties have been registered (as noted in the Spanish Ministry of the Interior's register of parties [MIR 2010b]) in Spain. Consequently, the existing fragmentation (which will subsequently be discussed) clearly makes a nonsense of comparative national studies on Green parties which persist in referring to *Los Verdes* without acknowledging the fact that no such party exists. In this present study, the term Spanish Greens is therefore reserved for the aggregated Spanish Green parties.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The central aim of this study is to provide an in-depth and multifaceted approach to the study of PE in Spain. By investigating several under-explored dimensions, I hope to provide a greater understanding of Green politics in Spain. To date, there has been little academic writing about this area, whether by Spaniards or 'outsiders'. Spanish PE is scarcely documented, largely ignored and poorly understood, for a number of reasons which will be outlined in section 1.5.

A second aim of this study is to contribute, albeit in a very minor way, to broadening the study of Green politics in Europe by drawing attention to a number of issues that are illustrated by the Spanish case, in particular the study's focus on the regional dimension of Green party politics in Spain. A greater awareness of the Greens within subnational politics would help to correct aberrations such as the one that follows. A comparative study of 'Green parties in France and the UK' (Spoon 2009: 615) stresses the achievements of the English Greens but – despite the title of the article – makes no mention of the Scottish Greens' success at Holyrood (1 Green MSP elected to the Scottish Parliament in 1999, 7 elected in 2003, 2 seats held in 2007) – and, indeed, makes no differentiation between England and the UK. This lack of attention to the territorial dimension of politics on the part of the author, the

reviewers and the editorial team, is an indication of the relative lack of importance accorded to this question. An examination of the Spanish Greens also revisits other aspects of Green politics which perhaps merit reconsideration, in particular the party/movement dichotomy and the constraints and opportunities afforded by alliances between the Greens and the left.

The thesis also has a number of more specific objectives, the most important of which are briefly listed below:

- a) To provide a fuller account of the Spanish Greens, clearly differentiating between the different parties operating within the Spanish state as well as highlighting their strengths and weaknesses.
- b) To ascertain which factors have contributed to the Spanish Greens' 'failure' to organise themselves into a single, viable political party. The Spanish Greens' failure to do so will be set against the success of Spain's leading environmental movement organisation (EMO), *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA).
- c) To demonstrate that Green politics in Spain can only be understood if the importance of the regional dimension is recognised.
- d) To stress the interconnectedness of the various Green political actors and, consequently, the need to view 'Green politics' as a phenomenon which includes the PESM as a whole (including parties and movements).
- e) To pinpoint the distinctiveness of the Spanish PESM, which has been shaped by Spain's historical and cultural specificity.
- f) To explore and question some of the key dynamics of PE in Spain and see whether they have a wider applicability and are useful tools for re-evaluating theoretical approaches to Green politics. These key dynamics will be introduced in section 1.5.

1.4 RATIONALE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study will build on the research undertaken by others and will provide a greater understanding of Spanish PE by providing a fuller and more up-to-date account of this subject. The study is indebted to the contributions made by a number of scholars and ecologists, but wants to offer a number of correctives as well as providing a number of alternative interpretations to counter, or add to, the prevailing ones.

The study takes a different starting point from other studies on Spain's ecologists in two respects: firstly, it tries to show the interconnectedness between the parties and PESM, whereas, as Torcal et al. admit, 'the relationship between parties and new social movements has been undermined by an overestimation of the distance between those two sets of actors' (Montero & Gunther 2002: 6). My decision to connect the two was based on the realisation that most of the Spanish Green parties (at least the 'independent' parties that are not in electoral alliances) are not primarily focused on party competition and electoral success but rather on 'constituency representation' (Kitschelt 1989), identity-building and policy-forming. Like the PESM, they help to 'define problems, propose solutions, aggregate citizens' policy preferences ... make demands of elected officials, [and] communicate information about government action to their supporters and the larger public' (Burstein & Linton 2002: 380-381). However, despite emphasising the importance of the PESM as a whole, this study will focus more on the parties than the movements, largely because this is the area that is most problematic and has received least attention.

Given that the parties are the primary focus of the study, I have only focused on some elements of the PESM and have omitted numerous bodies working within the movement. For example, I will touch only tangentially on the role of important environmental interest groups which operate within Spain's two leading trade unions, UGT (*Unión General de Trabajadores*, General Union of Workers) and CC OO (*Comisiones Obreras*, Workers' Commissions). Moreover, my study of the grassroots movement has largely centered on one key EMO, *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA), whose

success in uniting numerous regional movements into one statewide confederation could provide a model for the Green parties to follow.

The second respect in which this study differs from other studies on the Spanish PESM is that it places the *locus operandi* of the Spanish Greens at the meso-government level. This interpretation is proposed as a corrective to the dominant assumption that a Green party's success is measured by its ability to gain statewide representation.

1.4.1 An understudied area

PE in Spain has featured only rarely in scholarly literature for two reasons that I would like to address in turn. Firstly, Spain is far less represented in comparative studies in the political and social sciences than many other West European countries; as a result, Spanish Green politics has received less attention from scholars than other Green parties who regularly feature in comparative party studies.

Spain in comparative studies and party literature

Since the country's transition to democracy (1975-1982), Spain has emerged from its political isolation and increasingly features in comparative studies on the subject of sub-state nationalism (e.g. Swenden 2006; Hopkin 2009), democratisation (e.g. Powell 1996) and Europeanisation (e.g. Featherstone & Radaelli 2003). However, in other areas such as party competition, the country's late transition to democracy is one of the factors still cited for excluding Spain from cross-national studies (Green-Pedersen 2007: 612). Montero and Gunther (2002: 14) coin the phrase 'static conceptualization' to refer to southern European countries' exclusion from many studies, and assert that studies on party typology are based on 'surprisingly few West European democracies'. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that academics tend to focus on familiar territory that has already been documented. Until recently (although this is beginning to change) most Spanish academics have tended not to publish in English and have failed, therefore, to disseminate their works outside Spain; furthermore, the language barrier makes it harder for English-language academics to access information on Spain.

Secondly, I also wish to question the scarcely contested notion in party literature that unless a party has passed the threshold of representation in a national parliament it is appropriate to consider it 'weak' and therefore not worthy of mention in cross-national studies. Given the growing interest in meso-government and federal states, it will be argued that Sartori's classic definition of a 'relevant' party as 'one that has gained parliamentary representation and has either coalition or blackmail potential' (1976: 123) should be extended to include regional elections (again, there is an incipient trend in this direction, but most Green party literature continues to focus on the statewide perspective).

A comparative view of Spain and the PESM

If we look at the representation of Spain in cross-national studies on Green parties and movements there are further shortcomings. The first of these will be referred to as the Mediterranean syndrome thesis. Comparative studies on environmental policy, parties and movements still tend to regard southern European countries as 'environmental laggards' (Andersen & Liefferink 1997; Haverland 2003; Costa 2006; Aguilar Fernández 2004), although a number of studies have presented a cogent argument that this conclusion is based on data misrepresenting Spain's position (Börzel 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). Furthermore, as Martinez Alier says (2003), a false correlation is made between economically less advanced countries and the emergence of post-materialism, which many studies consider an essential variable for the existence of a PESM as the following statement demonstrates.

Until the late 1990s, the development of an environmental consciousness in Southern Europe lagged significantly behind similar processes in other countries that had entered into an advanced state of late modernity much earlier' (Gunther et al. 2006: 344).

A study of Spain's PE movement in Chapter 4 will argue that this commonly-held opinion is inaccurate as are assumptions that the southern European countries are less environmentally conscious because of the 'prevalence of consumerist values in these recently modernised countries' (Pridham 1994: 81).

The second misrepresentation of Spain's PESM arises from the cultural determinism of the dominant north European perspective outlined above. The apparent weakness of Spain's PESM – attributed to its lack of interest in environmental matters, political culture and deficient political opportunity structures (Rootes 2003: 9) – is again largely predicated on a northern European view of how movements and parties operate, without recognising that there might be other constraints leading to the weakness of the Spanish Greens and that the EMOs may have a different repertoire that is, in its own way, relatively successful and vigorous.

This study therefore hopes to bring a different and equally valid perspective to bear on the subject. I contend that it is reductionist to infer that ecologism is 'weak' and believe that these perceptions are often based on inadvertent cultural determinism, on a misinformed or inaccurate picture of contemporary Spain and on insufficient awareness of the *locus operandi* of PE.

Turning now to Spain's PESM, a further assumption I would like to challenge is the notion that there is a clear separation between the study of Green parties and movements. Although the literature freely admits that most Green parties originated from the social movements (Bomberg 1998), it nevertheless marks a clear division between the two. Burchell (2002), for example, believes that the movement perspective should be abandoned and that Green parties should be studied solely as parties. This position may hold in the case of a party like *die Grünen*, but is questionable in the case of less institutionalised parties. This thesis will argue that the main political actors of the PE movement in Spain have historically always been the EMOs and the broader PESM. The different Green parties – who are the central focus of this study – are not the sole representatives of Green politics. This more holistic approach will make it apparent that the view of Spain as 'markedly behind' other European countries when it comes to Green politics does not bear scrutiny. Spain's environmental problems are different from northern Europe's but the Spanish PESM has been active and has had a significant impact on society over the years.

Some of the PESM's gains have taken place at sub-national level, and yet scholars of Green politics, despite the fact that a number have acknowledged the importance of

the regional dimension (Karamichas 2004; Müller-Rommel & Poguntke 2002; Rootes 2003) have been slow to explore this area.

Spanish ecologism has received little attention from the environmental politics academic community although a number of studies on Green parties have briefly mentioned the Spanish Greens and have highlighted *Los Verdes*' negligible electoral support in comparison with other European Green parties (e.g. Carter 2007). However, such studies often omit Spain's most successful regional 'Green' party, *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds* (ICV, Initiative for Catalonia Greens). Seminal cross-national studies on Green parties and movements have almost all omitted Spain, Portugal and Greece from their studies. Whilst this was understandable in the early days, when these recently democratised countries' Green parties had only just been founded, the failure to incorporate these countries in more recent studies (i.e. Müller-Rommel & Poguntke 2002; Burchell 2002; Frankland et al. 2008) is harder to understand. In their study of European Green parties Richardson & Rootes (1995) explain their choice of countries thus:

Some countries selected themselves because of their sheer size and their prominence within European political arrangements: Germany, Britain, France and Italy. Other countries have been included because of the distinctiveness and intrinsic interest of their experience of Green party development; in this category we include Belgium, Sweden, The Netherlands and Switzerland. (Richardson & Rootes 1995: 2).

Frankland et al. justify their omission of the Spanish Greens by stating that they do 'not really exist as an autonomous party at national level' (2008: 259); however, the book carries an in-depth study on the Swiss Greens, a confederation of 26 cantonal parties, 'now quite established as a political force' (2008: 261).

The almost exclusive academic focus on northern European Green parties and movements might misguidedly be attributed to the greater visibility and success of Green parties in countries such as Germany, France and Belgium. However, the fact that most of these studies include the UK Greens⁴ – a party (or rather parties) which

⁴ Although some academics (e.g. Spoon 2009) and journalists (e.g. Ashmed 2009) refer to the 'UK Greens', no such party has existed since 1990. There are 3 Green parties in the UK: the Scottish Green

until May 2010 had never won a seat in Parliament – illustrates the fact that Spain’s absence in these studies is more plausibly due to academics’ tendency to focus on familiar, already documented territory. Within Spain itself, very few academics have written on a topic which is viewed unsympathetically and regarded as marginal – and only a handful of these works are in English.

This lack of interest means that this field has been insufficiently researched and that the comparative political scientist is at the mercy of secondary sources that may not always be reliable (there are instances of reliance on incorrect information in both Doherty 2002 & Carter 2007). For example, in his very brief account of the Spanish Greens Doherty states:

While there have been some recent successes for Spanish Greens, gaining two MPs in national elections in 2000, it is too early to say whether this means that previous regional divisions have been overcome’ (Doherty 2002: 92).

The unsuspecting reader would understand from this that two Green MPs were elected to the *Congreso* (lower chamber or parliament) in 2000, thus misconstruing the situation. In fact, the leader of CHA (*Chunta Aragonesista*, an Aragonese nationalist party), José Labordeta, was one of these two so-called ‘Green’ MPs. At the time, the Greens had a loose alliance with a number of left-libertarian parties, including CHA, but it is an exaggeration to state that Labordeta was a ‘Green’. Despite an affinity with Green ideas, CHA’s first priority is to give a greater progressive left-wing voice to the people of Aragón. Similarly, most Spanish ecologists at that time would disagree that the second ‘Green MP’, from Catalonia’s ecosocialist party (ICV, *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds* or Initiative for Catalonia-Greens) represented the Spanish Greens. Finally, Doherty’s final throwaway observation about overcoming regional divisions betrays a very limited knowledge of the Spanish situation.⁵

Party, The Irish Green Party (including Northern Ireland’s Greens) and the Green Party of England and Wales (within which the Welsh Greens have a semi-autonomous status).

⁵ Is Doherty’s account based on academic ‘chinese whispers’? Karamichas (2001) mentions the same election of two Spanish Green ‘representatives’ (N.B.: representatives becomes MPs in Doherty’s version), in the context of using their election to counter Müller-Rommel and Poguntke’s failure to

A second example of the errors about the Spanish Greens that slip into scholarly literature is to be found in Carter's textbook *The Politics of the Environment*. The first edition (2001) has a number of inaccuracies about the Spanish Greens but the second edition is commendably accurate apart from one fact: Carter states that 'a national Green party, *Los Verdes*, was not founded until 1992' (2007: 90). This assertion is wrong on two counts. A statewide Green party called *Los Verdes* (LV) was founded in 1984, although less than a year later the Catalan Greens had broken away from LV; 1992 was the year in which the Catalan Greens and LV briefly laid aside their differences and signed an alliance to contest the following elections together (the alliance lasted less than a year). Carter's 'error' is understandable but misleading as he leads the reader to believe that there was no Green party in Spain until 1992.

1.4.2 The story so far

The present section will briefly review academic works dealing with Spanish ecologism, firstly by acknowledging their contribution to this area and subsequently by pointing out why further research is needed in this area.

Only a handful of studies have looked at Green party politics in Spain in any detail. One of the earliest was Aguilar Fernández's (1994) article, 'The Greens in the 1993 Spanish general election: a chronicle of a defeat foretold', an article which outlined the fragmentation of the Green vote in the 1993 Spanish general election and the Greens' inevitable failure to capture more than a risible number of votes. Since then, Aguilar Fernández has written many publications relating to Spanish environmental policy but has not revisited the Spanish Greens, who ceased to be of interest to most Spanish political scientists after 1993⁶. Another early study by Baras (1992) on the Catalan Greens also represents this academic's only output on the Greens, written at a time when the party was potentially poised to make an electoral breakthrough. However, the 1993 results demonstrated the intraparty problems of the Greens and

include the Spanish Greens in a cross-national study because they have not passed the threshold of representation (Müller-Rommel and Poguntke 2002).

⁶ However, in a 2005 publication, Aguilar Fernández and Ballesteros Pena focus on the PESM when they look at the *Nunca Mais* (Never Again) social movement which was set up after the sinking of the Prestige oil tanker in 2002 off the coast of Galicia (north-west Spain).

the electorate's confusion. Interest (and, indeed, incipient support) for the Greens faded, commentators and political scientists realised they had misjudged the apparent threat of this newcomer and dismissed it from further consideration (Interview with Baras, 10./12/ 2007).

English-language literature that dedicates at least a chapter of a book or an entire article to Spanish ecologism can be divided into party and movement literature. Karamichas (2004: a doctoral thesis), O'Neill (1997) and Holliday (1997) all provide a study of the Spanish Greens. All three stress the Greens' lack of success which they attribute principally to party competition. Karamichas focuses on the competition between the Greens and *Izquierda Unida* (IU, United Left), both of which could be considered 'left-libertarian' parties. One of the central aims of his doctoral thesis is to demonstrate that it is almost impossible for two left-libertarian parties to succeed (Karamichas 2004: 38). Holliday also cites IU as the Greens' main stumbling block but is only too aware of the regional dimension and, indeed, attaches so much importance to it that he goes so far as to suggest that 'a weak national federation of strong and in many ways distinct regional parties is the correct way forward for the Spanish Greens' (Holliday 1997: 171). However, his article is short and gives him little scope to develop his ideas more fully. Neither he, Karamichas or O'Neill explore the regional dimension in any detail and, furthermore, all three give the impression that the Spanish Greens are a recognisable single party and the primary representatives of Green politics in Spain.

If we turn to mention of the wider PESM in Spain, a number of scholars have included the Spanish environmental movements in their studies of movements across Europe (Eder & Kousis 2001; Rootes 2003; D.Snow et al. 2007; Kousis et al. 2008). On closer inspection, however, the chapters dedicated to Spain are the work of one Spanish scholar, Manuel Jiménez. Unsurprisingly, therefore, there is only one English language narrative on the Spanish PESM. A full account of his perspective on the Spanish PESM is provided by his book (2005) in Spanish which presents a strong corrective to commonplace assumptions about the environmental movement in Spain (these ideas also appear in a number of short articles in English, namely Jiménez 1999, 2000, 2001 & 2003). Jiménez's book is extremely important because

it argues convincingly that the Spanish PESM, despite inevitable constraints, has played an important role in the greening of Spain in that it has been a keen agent in the Europeanisation of Spain. His work analyses the PESM's input into the environmental policy-making process and examines the different strategies deployed. These include a range of activities ranging from protest actions to collaboration with different levels of government. His study corrects the usual cliché (common to not only foreign commentators but to Spaniards themselves) that Spaniards are uninterested in environmental matters and, instead, indicates that PE is an important movement which manifests itself differently in Spain. The distinguishing features of the Spanish PESM are that it tends to be more local, more fragmented and more given to protests than elsewhere. Whereas northern countries – who set the norms – define a successful civil society as one that has numerous highly-subscribed associations, Spanish civil society is closer to the loose SM network: individuals do not, perhaps, belong to organisations in great numbers (although even the membership numbers are not as low as is generally believed) but will readily take to the streets and involve themselves in prolonged struggles to register their protest. Jiménez's study is based on data collected between 1998-1997 when Spain's leading EMO, *Ecologistas en Acción*, had not been formed. Consequently, although his study offers a theoretical framework for studying Spain's PE, and provides an in-depth study of the movement that corrects some truisms or misconceptions regarding the PESM in Spain, the present study can hope to build on his empirical findings by bringing the history of the movements up to date.

Before turning back to the three works on the Spanish Greens I would like to make one further observation on Jiménez's study. His book is called *The political impact of the social movements: a study of environmental protests in Spain*, and it is therefore hardly surprising that he does not dwell on the Spanish Greens (*Jiménez 2005)⁷. However, the scant mention he makes of them is surprising but revelatory about the big divide that exists between the parties and movements, not only on the ground but even in a scholarly context. Jiménez allots the Spanish Greens just three lines in the main text and a substantial footnote. He refers to the 'absence of Green parties' in

⁷ If I have translated a text or quote from the original, the citation will begin with an asterisk as in the present case.

Spain and the ‘lack of a strong Green party’ as one of the distinguishing features of environmental protest in Spain (*2005: 175). In the footnote that summarises the fortunes of the Spanish Greens he refers to the fact that two Green MPs were elected to the *Congreso* in 2004 as part of a ‘IU coalition’. In fact, it was a PSOE coalition. Given that Jiménez is Spanish and a political scientist, this lack of accuracy shows to what extent there is confusion, or indeed total indifference, on the subject of the Spanish Greens, even within Spain.

Before ending this section, I will briefly highlight a number of aspects featured by Karamichas, O’Neill and Holliday which further show the need to re-appraise and correct existing accounts on the Spanish Greens.

Karamichas’ (2004) analysis of Spanish Green parties is the most recent and far-reaching work. His insights on the Spanish Greens are considerable and I am much indebted to his research (see, also, Karamichas 2001, 2002, 2007 & 2008) which, in fact, covers a crucially important area, namely the relationship between the Greens and IU. His principal aim resonates with mine in that he is keen to correct the assumption that the Spanish Greens’ electoral weakness stems from a lack of interest in environmental matters; instead, Karamichas attributes the Spanish Greens’ electoral weakness to two key factors that render party competition particularly fraught: the factionalism that has arisen because of the regional issue and the tussle between the new left/left-libertarian parties and the Greens. His key thesis maintains that, in fact, the ‘new left’ (or left-libertarian parties – Karamichas neatly synthesises any marginal differences in nomenclature) is over-represented in Spain so that the political opportunities for a new party to achieve electoral success are therefore ‘suffocating’ (Karamichas 2004: 8), particularly for a new political group which is poorly organised. The problem is further compounded by the fact that Spain has a dominant socialist party (PSOE) which may also be selectively open to acceding to post-industrial demands, thus weakening the Greens’ electoral prospects even further. Karamichas therefore re-asserts Holliday’s (1997) thesis that potential Green voters have a number of alternative and more credible options to choose from and his data leads him to conclude that this key factor is the single biggest impediment to the

Spanish Greens achieving electoral success. Whilst I am wholeheartedly in agreement with him on most points, I would like to express a few reservations.

Firstly, Karamichas' obvious interest in the Spanish Greens as a 'left-libertarian' party led him to believe that the Spanish Greens (at the time he finished his thesis) had formed a new, and in his opinion, durable alliance with the left, and that the new Spanish Green party would now be called *Los Verdes-Izquierda Verde*. Numerous sources questioned have denied the existence of this party as anything more than an aspiration and, certainly, it is not listed as a party in the Spanish Ministry of Interior's comprehensive list of parties despite Karamichas' prediction that this formation would last: 'it seems that the Spanish Greens are unlikely to change course after their first taste of success' (2002: 183).

Secondly, although Karamichas discusses the factionalism within the Spanish Greens, his account does not emphasise sufficiently the primordial importance of the regional problematic, nor does emphasise the fact that the notion of a single Green party in Spain is a fictional construct.

Holliday (1997) and O'Neill's (1997) studies are clearly quite dated by now but both provide a useful historical outline and analysis of the Spanish Greens. Holliday provides a very structured analysis of the different constraints preventing the Greens from achieving electoral success. Whilst agreeing with his narrative on the Greens, I would like to take issue with some of his analysis of the reasons behind the Greens' lack of electoral success, in order to demonstrate how easy it is to confuse cause and effect.

On the question of political opportunity structure (POS), Holliday's article states that the d'Hondt electoral system disadvantages a small party with statewide support. Whilst this is undeniably true, it is not a sufficient reason to account for the Greens' lack of electoral success: in the European elections, Spain only has one, statewide electoral district, which theoretically would offer a small statewide party a very good

chance of winning a seat. In spite of this, the Spanish Greens have never secured the necessary percentage of votes.

Another problem listed by Holliday is one of 'social penetration' which he divides into three distinct areas: limited environmental commitment, a weak associational culture, and the importance given to leaders within the Spanish political tradition. The arguments he brings to bear on the first two areas have been refuted at length by Jiménez (2004) whilst the leadership issue needs to be developed to give it any significance. Holliday's determination to substantiate his thesis leads him to use some evidence that does not stand up to closer scrutiny. For example, he states that 'the fact that no free-standing Ministry of the Environment existed until the incoming Aznar government created one in May 1996' is 'possibly illustrative of Spanish environmental inactivity' (1997: 172). Given that the UK has never had a 'free-standing Ministry of the Environment', the charge seems a hollow one.

O'Neill's (1997) account of Greens in 17 European countries (the old EU-15 countries plus Switzerland and Norway) is an ambitious project which provides the reader with a broadly acceptable description of the Spanish Green's trajectory. He provides a chronological account which also encapsulates many of the problems that beset the Spanish Greens: the party fragmentation due to rogue parties, inter-regional tensions and the 'multi-dimensional cleavage structure' (O'Neill 1997: 253), a political opportunity structure that makes it difficult for a small new party to compete and an electorate that remains fairly polarised between left and right.

However, the account is very flawed (for example, a cursory examination of page 260 reveals eight factual errors) and the chapter – despite many insights – sometimes betrays an imperfect understanding of Spain's specificity. For example, on the basis of a quote by a Catalan Green, Jordi Bigas, he extrapolates the generalisation that Spanish Greens are antagonistically hostile to a 'hegemonic' nation-state (O'Neill 1997: 257). Whilst it is true that Greens tend to be in favour of decentralisation, any Spaniard would question the validity of a generalisation about Spain emanating from a Catalan (the name Jordi is Catalan) and would realise that it cannot be used to

illustrate the position of all Spaniards. Elsewhere, there are factual errors which distort his account: for example, one of the quotes he attributes to a Green activist is not made by a Green at all but by the leader of a rogue Green party (O'Neill 1997: 266). Data about election results are also incorrect. In short, despite providing a good introductory account of Green politics in Spain, there are persistent errors which make the account less than authoritative. Worse still, an underlying negativity about the Spanish Greens permeates the discourse of the chapter on Spain (whilst the chapter on the UK Greens is markedly more sympathetic). One further example may help to illustrate why this account of the Spanish Greens falls short of presenting an accurate picture. O'Neill comments in amazement on the fact that, in 1993,

With more critical and socially relevant issues to address, the new party confirmed the prejudices of its establishment critics and prospective supporters alike by agreeing to abolish the national sport of bullfighting! (O'Neill 1997: 262)

This comment reveals a lack of awareness of Spanish political culture and does not do justice to the Greens (in respect to bullfighting their position is coherent with their values and has remained constant). In fact, the semiotic significance of such a proposal signified the party's commitment to a real break with the past and to the creation of a wholly new society and, in retrospect, showed much prescience given that bullfighting has now been banned in Catalonia.

If I have dwelt on 'errors' in the previous section, my sole aim has been to point out that insufficient study has been done so far on the Spanish PESM. Given that many researchers are dependent on a small pool of primary sources (whether interviewees or documents) it is all too easy for a few facts or events (perhaps of dubious provenance) to acquire too much importance. Similarly, however, it has been difficult to piece together an objective study that is not reliant on a limited number of (partisan) sources. For example, an important Spanish book on 'The Green Left'⁸ (Valencia Sáiz 2006) came out a few years ago. Whilst much of the book argues the case for Spain to opt for the ecosocialist path, the three chapters that analyse the

⁸ La izquierda verde

Catalan, Andalusian and Balearic Greens are interesting, first-hand but highly partisan accounts.

1.5 KEY DIMENSIONS

The following section introduces some themes⁹ that characterise Spanish PE and therefore recur throughout the thesis. I have referred to them as dimensions in that each one provides another facet of Spanish ecologism, thus providing a broader understanding of the subject and, in particular, of key problems that lie at the heart of the Spanish PESM. The themes will only be introduced briefly in this section as they are discussed in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.5.1 The regional dimension

One of the distinctive features of Spain's political culture is that there are competing or overlapping political cultures: in some respects, Spaniards share a common past and a similar polity, and are guided by a similar set of beliefs, values, and norms, but many regions in Spain also have their own specific political culture and a strong distinct identity. This thesis will examine the impact that the co-existence of different political cultures and identities has had on the Spanish Greens, and will establish to what extent it has also affected the PESM.

A key concept towards understanding a perennial 'regional' problematic within the PESM is the significance accorded to the difference between a confederal or federal party/movement model. The Spanish understanding of these two terms will therefore be briefly examined, drawing on definitions provided by Swenden (2006:13) and Blankart (2007:100). In a confederation, each regional party/movement is wholly autonomous, has full sovereignty and receives no 'orders from above'. Collective decisions must be unanimously agreed within the confederation, and a failure to agree with the confederation simply means that the party or movement in question can pull out of a confederal arrangement. The advantages of this model are that the

⁹ These themes are by no means exhaustive. For example, one interesting perspective that has been largely excluded is the issue of the Europeanization of PE in Spain. A small mention is made of this issue, but the issue has been covered in great detail by Jiménez (2005).

nationalist regions are less likely to be dominated by the centre (namely Madrid), every group is on an equal footing and that persistent serious disagreements with the majority view can be resolved by simply leaving the confederation. The federal model, on the other hand, recognises that there will be some central control; furthermore, collective decision-making is reached by achieving a majority consensus, sometimes to the detriment of a few regional parties within the federation.

This thesis will argue that the regional dimension has been a key factor in impeding the development and consolidation of a viable Green party presence in Spain. However, this setback has to be set alongside the gains for Green politics or PE: some regional parties have, on occasions, benefited from the opportunities offered by ‘second-tier’ politics and have managed to form alliances which have provided Green politics with an access to power (albeit constrained).

1.5.2 The political culture dimension

Spain increasingly resembles other European countries both socially and politically (Heywood 1999) and is no longer ‘different’¹⁰ (Subirats 1999:19), whilst ‘the last quarter of a century has seen the introduction and apparent consolidation of new institutions and processes which have succeeded in creating a modern, democratic state (Aja 2001). On the other hand, in spite of its metamorphosis, the legacy of Spain’s recent political past lives on, as Subirats (1999:19) admits, and the slogan ‘Spain is different’ – coined in the 1960s to promote Spanish tourism and redolent of a country that has not quite managed to throw off its past – is still frequently invoked to admit to the country’s specificity in some regards.

The lingering differences remain because, as Morán and Benedicto state, changing the mindset of an entire nation, or transforming a country’s political culture, is inevitably a slower process than adapting its institutions (1995:89), a viewpoint which is shared by many Spanish political scientists (e.g. Aja 2001). Chapter 4 will

¹⁰ The slogan ‘Spain is different’ has become a much-used phrase to shrug off any customs or practices that distinguish Spain from other countries. Many Spaniards are very opposed to the concept, which they view as backward-looking; an equal number are proud of Spain’s distinctiveness.

examine to what extent Spain has a distinctive political culture and how this culture impacts on the evolution of PE.

1.5.3 The social movement dimension

Although most scholarly literature on Green parties emphasises that these parties originated from previously existing social movements, the academic sub-fields of Green party politics and social movement politics tend to focus either on parties (Bomberg 1998; Müller-Rommel & Poguntke 2002; Hines 2003) or social movements (Rootes 2003) and do not routinely recognise the symbiotic relation that still exists between these two groupings – a relation that these two wings of PE are often anxious to play down, each for a good reason. The parties are anxious not to be categorised as a single issue party¹¹ – a You Tube Green video for the UK 2010 general election campaign illustrates the Greens’ determination to convey the message that their policies in all the key areas – health, education, employment, housing – are progressive and promote greater equality and justice (Scottish Green Party 2010). Most EMOs, on the other hand, stress their non-alignment to any political party and maintain their political independence, as demonstrated by the Introduction to Friends of the Earth’s (FOE) 2009-2010 Annual Report (FOE 2010).

In the case of Spain, the party/movement dichotomy has been (and still is) one of the major sources of contention within the PESM: many ecologists are scornful of the Spanish Greens and this has undoubtedly been one of the major contributing factors to the Spanish Greens’ electoral weakness. Nevertheless, Chapters 4-6 will demonstrate that both of these wings of Spanish ecologism have contributed to influencing public policy.

1.5.4 The ideological dimension: Red or Green

The Spanish Greens face electoral competition from many quarters, but the other left-libertarian party that has probably been most responsible for the Greens’ failure to win over more voters has been IU. The relationship between IU and the Greens has

¹¹ A video for the UK Greens’ 2010 general election campaign illustrates the parties’ determination to convey the message that their policies in all the key areas – health, education, employment, housing – are progressive and promote greater equality and justice (Greens UK 2010)

been a tense, complex and close one from the outset. Almost since their inception, the Greens have been split into two camps: those who are in favour of closer alliances with IU and those who are opposed. Karamichas (2004) refers to this as the Realo/Fundi divide of the Spanish Greens, but I feel that – although it is a useful recognisable label – it also misses the distinctiveness of the Spanish situation: the divide is not purely an ideological one, but varies from one region or province to another, depending on three main factors: whether the Greens of that area have managed to maintain good relations over the years with their local IU party, whether an alliance between the Greens and IU really increases the likelihood of both parties winning a seat and, finally, whether the territorial aspect favours or complicates the alliance, perhaps by introducing yet another potential coalition partner or rival.

Interestingly, over the years and for historical reasons more related to regionalism than to the Green parties themselves, gradually a ‘relevant’ and, by now, stable ecosocialist party has become part of the Catalan political system whereas, elsewhere in Spain, ad hoc alliances or coalitions with IU are provisional.

1.5.5 The personal dimension: a family at loggerheads

Kitschelt and Hellemans contend that exogenous factors are not enough to understand a party’s position and that one also needs to look at the internal dynamics of the party, because

Party politics is also based on the political biographies and experiences of party activists, a set of coherent ideas shared and debated within a party, and an organizational practice that is related to these ideas and activists (Kitschelt & Hellemans 1990: 7).

There is a general consensus that small parties, and particularly weak parties, are plagued by ‘personalism’¹², strife and ill-feeling.

¹² In this work, the word personalism will be used to denote the much-used Spanish concept of *personalismo*, which broadly speaking means ‘cult of personality’ as well as a culture in which everything becomes excessively personal.

In the case of the Spanish Greens, this intraparty ill-will is further compounded by regional tensions and by divergent ideological positions as to whether they consider themselves to be Green-Greens or Red-Greens. Although many of the most active militants continue to exude optimism about their party's potential, underlying tensions persist. This topic will be further explored in the two chapters dedicated to Andalusia and Catalonia but clearly acts as a constraint on the Spanish Greens.

1.5.6 The pragmatic dimension: the piecemeal approach

Scholars are generally agreed (Mair 2001; Frankland et al. 2008) that the Greens will remain minority parties in the foreseeable future; consequently, a new ecological society will not be achieved through the ballot box. Given this situation, the present 'piecemeal' arrangement – whereby Green parties, EMOs, NGOs, interest groups and the wider PESM all push for incremental change from their respective corners – is a real world response from PE activists who accept that a step in the right direction is better than no step at all.

Although this multimodal approach has only brought about limited policy changes in the case of Spain (a situation which applies elsewhere with no exceptions), this thesis will argue that there has undeniably been a shift in Spanish society's attitude towards ecologism, and that this has been brought about by the work of the country's ecologists. Proponents of PE are part of an environmental vanguard which, I argue, is gaining in credibility and putting forward specific proposals which are increasingly being taken up by more dominant forces in society.

Because the mainstream parties and wider society have coopted many of the specific proposals put forward by ecologists, some scholars have questioned the survival of ecologism as a movement (Diani 1995) and have pointed to a decreasing interest in the movement (Blühdorn 2000). However, the Spanish case does not appear to support these claims and this thesis argues that ecologism in Spain has, if anything, increased in importance over the last fifteen years.

Spanish ecologism is likely to survive – albeit as a minority ideology – because, although all European governments are now legally obliged to tackle environmental

problems and have therefore co-opted some Green policies and assumed a green mantle of environmental responsibility, the solutions proposed by mainstream politics clearly do not attack the root of the problem, but only some of its immediately visible consequences. In other words, although ecologists have achieved incremental, piecemeal gains through their efforts, they are only too aware that these represent only a small step forward. Their real challenge is to bring about a turnaround in values and to persuade more people that the ecologist 'utopia' provides a rational blueprint towards finding a solution to the world's problems.

1.6 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Before outlining the methodology used by this study, it is worth drawing a distinction between methodology and methods. If methodology consists of 'a study of the principles and theories which guide the choice of method' (Burnham et al. 2004: 4) then the choice of method or methods will be determined by the researcher's epistemological and ontological stance which I would like to make explicit. This thesis is unapologetically penned by someone who, ontologically speaking, supports the philosophical position held by ecologists, although this belief is tempered by an epistemology which is post-modernist and relativist. Although I have been painstaking in attempting to produce an objective and accurate account of the Spanish PE movement, I am wholly in agreement with the contention that a value-free approach may be 'logically unassailable' but is 'absurd' because it appeals to reason but ignores experience (Gouldner 1961: 198). My starting point is based on the premise that a close adherence to the tenets of PE is the, for me, logical and desirable way to build a 'better' society; however, I am well aware that most people do not share this belief and view 'ecologists' as little short of cranks. This awareness provides a useful check.

Additionally, I appreciate that, although I may strive my utmost, there may well be some inadvertent misinterpretation of the facts and events at my disposal. Although I have always crosschecked my sources (written but also oral accounts), and been meticulous in respecting the 'facts', it has been necessary at times – given conflicting

accounts or versions – to make an informed choice as to the most likely interpretation. My account cannot match the ethnographic and highly detailed written (and oral) narratives provided by some Spanish ecologists; however, the latter are very partisan, and usually only deal with either the party or the movement. The possible merit of the present study is that it sets out to be objective and offers some broad empirical and conceptual insights.

Above all, I am extremely conscious of the provisional nature of my research and concur with Lincoln and Guba in their belief that ‘... the conventional texts of scientific method ... may lead us to believe the world is rather simpler than it is’ (2000: 184) and that no method can deliver the ultimate truth (Lincoln & Guba 2000: 178).

The considerations outlined above are responsible for my decision to reject ‘grand theories’. For example, although I know that previous studies on the Greens and the PESM have made extensive use of political opportunity structure (POS) theory as a tool for analysing these phenomena I have avoided an explicit focus on POS (a position which I will elaborate on at the end of Chapter 2). Similarly, whilst conscious of numerous studies on party competition, I have not wanted to focus exclusively on that. The conceptual framework developed in this thesis is more holistic and consists of analysing PE in Spain by looking at a number of key dimensions (as outlined in 1.5) This approach aims to provide a more nuanced and fuller understanding of PE in Spain

1.6.1 A case study approach

The thesis provides an account of Spanish ecologism from 1970-2010, focusing primarily on Green parties in Andalusia and Catalonia, though also presenting the statewide context as well as situating the parties within the broader setting of the PESM. The decision to carry out a case study of PE in two regions requires justification. I was interested in providing a rich description of PE in Spain in order to address the scant attention the subject has been given to date and realised that a qualitative study including all of Spain’s green parties and movements would be an

excessively Gargantuan task, far exceeding the word and time constraints of this research.

I therefore decided to examine and compare Green parties and movements in two different Spanish regions. I established that the usual case study research design of choosing two ‘most similar’ or ‘most different’ cases (Burnham *et al.* 2004: 77) was unsuitable for my purpose and opted instead to choose two cases using criteria described by Flyvbjerg as ‘information-oriented’ (2006: 230). This study therefore simply provides an in-depth study of two different regions, thus highlighting the regional dynamic and the impact which this has on subnational political systems, political opportunities and hence the different Green actors.

As Lijphart states, ‘comparability can ... be enhanced by focusing on intra-nation instead of inter-nation comparisons’ (1971: 689). The use of two ‘intra-nation’ cases sets up a comparison which allows one to identify shared statewide variables as well as those which differ between the two regions. The emerging picture will help to refine existing theories about green parties and movements whilst also building up a more complete picture of the Spanish Greens.

The two cases chosen are in some respects ‘most similar’ and in others ‘most different’. I chose to study PE in Andalucía and Catalonia because they are ‘most similar’ in that they are demographically important regions, together accounting for 33.8% of Spain’s population, with an important role to play as important sub-national actors. However, they are also dissimilar in many ways: Catalonia is a prosperous northern region, industrialised, fiercely nationalistic and proud of its distinct identity; Andalucía, on the other hand, was traditionally the land of emigrants: it was – and to a great extent remains – a, poor, predominantly agricultural southern region which shows few inclinations to sever its links with the Spanish state although – in keeping with recent regionalist trends in Spain – it also has a strong sense of its distinctiveness as a region and as a people.

On the Green party front, the two regions are similar in that they have well-established Green parties and many of Spain’s leading ecologists come from these

two regions. However, Greens from these two regions have historically represented the two sides of an ideological and strategic divide and relations between the Greens in these two regions are historically problematic.

My empirical approach employs the usual case-study repertoire: observation and interviews; historical, interview-based and documentary analysis; and, finally, a secondary analysis of others' data. I am conscious of the fact that a case study approach is often viewed as being subjective (Yin 1989), 'unique and not representative' (Burnham *et al.* 2004: 54) but have taken heart from Flyvbjerg's article, *Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research*, which justifies the validity of case studies: he defends the need for 'context-dependent knowledge' and, quoting Eysenck, argues that 'sometimes we simply have to keep our eyes open and look carefully at individual cases—not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something!' (Eysenck 1976: 9 quoted in Flyvbjerg 2006: 224). The case-study is also well-suited when it comes to identifying 'black swans', in accordance with Popper's 'falsification' thesis that you only need to find ONE black swan to falsify the assumption that all swans are white (Flyvbjerg 2006: 228). Flyvbjerg also points out that case-studies are, in fact, more likely to result in the falsification of preconceptions precisely because they are in-depth studies and set out to learn rather than to prove. In short, the case-study demonstrates 'the complexities and contradictions of real life' (Flyvbjerg 2006: 237)

1.6.2 Data collection

The present thesis is mostly based on qualitative data drawn from a number of different sources, although a quantitative element is also present, with the inclusion of election results that are used to track the fortunes of the different Green parties.

Primary sources

Given this study's central aim to observe and understand Spain's PESM, I have made use of many different primary sources to collect information and to check the reliability of sources by repeatedly cross-checking data and secondary accounts. The primary sources on which I have drawn include a number of Spanish newspaper archives, principally *El País*, which publishes daily regional editions in Andalusia

and Catalonia¹³ but also *Público*, *El Mundo* and a number of regional papers. I have also drawn on online newsletters and web pages published by a number of Green parties and movements including the Andalusian Greens, ICV, EA, Greenpeace Spain and other parties and movements. I also subscribe to EA's monthly magazine, *El Ecologista*, which publishes factual and discursive articles, mostly focusing on Spanish ecologism and have also read each edition of the yearly 'Annual of Social Movements' which regularly carries first hand accounts by PESM activists on a number of campaigns (Betiko Fundazioa 2010). I have circumspectly explored blogs and discussion fora which provide a fascinating insight into the views of Spain's ecologists. Although some points raised may prove to be unreliable when examined in greater detail, the fora provide a good opportunity to crosscheck on details and gain access to ongoing campaigns. In recent years I have also subscribed to the Facebook pages of the main Green parties and organisations I have been studying.

A number of activists have also published first-hand accounts of their own particular corner of ecologism (Varillas & Da Cruz 1981; García, Reixac & Vilanova 1979; Piulats 1992; Campomanes 1993 Marcellesi 2008). Much useful information is available in these works – particularly Cabal's¹⁴ detailed albeit highly partisan history of the Greens (1996) – although care has been taken to crosscheck information by accessing various newspaper or government online sources, checking against other accounts or by asking a number of people interviewed to corroborate particular events, facts or positions. Further useful works, as yet unmentioned, are a collection of articles edited by Valencia Saiz (2006) on the "Green Left" – with articles about the Greens in Andalusia and Catalonia (amongst others) – and a very useful book on Andalusian ecologism (Fernández Reyes, 2005).

Data has been gleaned from official government websites – not only the Spanish Government Ministry of the Interior website, which has recorded general, European and local election results since 1977, but also the websites of regional governments. I

¹³ It also publishes editions based in Madrid, the Basque Country, Galicia and Valencia.

¹⁴ Cabal was originally in Los Verdes but left the party in 1993 when it became a confederation. He formed a new party, *Los Verdes-Grupo Verde* (The Greens – the Green Group), which since then has been the second largest group of Greens in Spain, fielding numerous candidates at each election.

have also frequently consulted the European Green Party Website, the European Environment Agency website, and have been in e-mail and Facebook correspondence with a number of ecologists. Finally, I also conducted 17 interviews with party and movement activists or elite (listed at the end of this thesis) as well as having less formal chats with numerous activists or, indeed, critics. I also had the opportunity to attend a couple of major meetings: the first was *Ecologistas en Acción*'s annual 2007 conference (December, Basque Country), an occasion which allowed me to gain first-hand experience of the organisation's grass-roots, participatory structure. I observed a weekend of debates which culminated in the organisation's policy decisions with respect to a wide range of issues. On the weekend of October 16th-17th, 2010, I also attended a weekend seminar on ecologism in Madrid (this brought together IU, two different Green parties, FOE, EA and numerous academics and trade unionists and was the beginning of a major rapprochement between IU and two groups of Greens).

Secondary sources

As previously mentioned, in keeping with the scarce attention which Spanish ecologism has attracted, academic literature in this specific area is limited. Admittedly, a good number of works on PE have been written since the early 1970s in Spain, most of them written by Spanish academics who are also ecologists (e.g. Garrido, Martínez Alier, Reichmann); however, by and large, these books focus on ecologism as political theory and practice, but without alluding to the specifics of the Spanish situation; they are principally of interest as evidence of the number of academics who have been writing about ecologism in Spain for some years now.

Additionally, several Spanish academic 'green' or 'left-libertarian' journals have published quite a number of relevant articles over the last 30 years, the most useful being *Ecología Política* (a twice-yearly journal which has been published since 1991) and *Mientras Tanto* (a Catalan-based journal, founded in 1979. It is 'new left' and has always carried many articles on ecosocialism).

1.7 THESIS OUTLINE

The thesis consists of seven substantive chapters, which are briefly summarised in the next few paragraphs. Chapter 1 has provided an introduction to the thesis, and has established why this particular approach to PE in Spain can make a small but valid contribution to research and has also reviewed the few scholarly works which already exist on this topic. This introductory chapter has also posited two research questions, has outlined the aims and objectives of the thesis and has discussed the methodology that will be employed.

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature that underpins this study and helps to map the terrain that will be returned to later. The first part of the chapter looks at competing definitions of ecologism, determines that it is a specific if broad ideology and examines some of the different strands which co-exist within the PESM. The second part of the chapter looks at social movement (SM) and party theory and discusses some of the concepts usually employed to study parties and movements.

Chapter 3 will explore several issues relating to Spain's political culture: some of these are relatively unknown and require explanation in order to understand the political and social life of the country. In some cases a corrective will be provided to generally held assumptions about Spain. Lastly, the chapter will examine territorial politics in Spain, firstly outlining Spain's development from a centralist to a quasi-federal state. The chapter will then discuss the tensions which persist regarding the territorial configuration of the Spanish state and the question of national identity (in this context, the word national¹⁵ could refer to 'subnational', minority national identity or to 'Spanish' identity and therein lies much of the acrimony). The chapter will discuss the way in which regional identity issues and the consolidation of each region's marked political culture and distinctive institutions has impacted on the development and trajectory of Spain's Green parties.

¹⁵ In order to distinguish between statewide Nations and subnations or regions that consider themselves to be 'nations', this thesis will capitalise the word Nation when referring to the statewide nation and will, in fact, generally use the synonym 'statewide'. Consequently, any references to 'nations', from now on, refer to regions that consider themselves to have a distinct national identity.

Chapter 4 outlines the history and most distinctive features of PE in Spain, focusing on the Spanish Greens and the environmental movements from a statewide perspective. This general overview will summarise the chief characteristics of the Spanish Greens and will set these within the context of the broader PESM. The chapter will outline the factors which make it hard for the Greens to be electorally successful but will also show that the Spanish Greens have made greater inroads than the literature allows. Above all, the chapter argues that the strongest proponents of Green politics in Spain are not the Green parties themselves but the EMOs and the wider PESM.

Chapters 5 and 6 focus on PE in just two Spanish regions, Catalonia and Andalusia. The in-depth study of both these cases uses the region as the unit under scrutiny and starts from the premise that, given that each region has its own Green party, each region needs to be studied separately in order to understand the divisions but also the affinities that exist between the many Green movements and parties that exist in Spain. The different variables outlined in Chapter 1 will be explored at regional level, and by the end of Chapter 6 it will be clear to what extent Andalucía's PE is in many ways different from its Catalan counterpart. It will be shown that PE in each region has been marked by the region's own history and development, a key factor that also impacts on the PESM of both regions.

Chapter 7 The first two sections of this concluding chapter review some of the points raised in previous chapters to ensure that the questions and objectives set out at the outset have been satisfactorily addressed and met. Section 7.3 will examine how some of the issues raised by the present study could have wider applicability or might be of interest to other scholars. In conclusion, the chapter focuses on recent developments within the Spanish Greens which may, perhaps, herald great changes in the near future.

CHAPTER 2: SPANISH ECOLOGISM - KEY CONCEPTS AND ACTORS

One of the key aims of this thesis is to examine political ecology (PE) by focusing on the actors, parties and movements who subscribe to this ‘ideology’ in Spain. The term ideology is used, in this instance, as defined by Freeden, namely as a system of ‘broadly held political beliefs’ (1998: 552). The present chapter therefore examines some of the theories and concepts which will inform this thesis and which relate to PE, parties and movements. It will begin by establishing the parameters of what this thesis means by PE, a term which has been defined and understood in many different ways by academics and ecologists (and, indeed, their detractors).

Secondly, and in order to justify yet another empirical study about green politics in what some consider to be the end of environmentalism (Wissenberg & Levy 2004) or a ‘post-ecologist’ era (Blühdorn 2007), the chapter will argue that green politics has by no means burnt itself out: its failure to make greater political inroads at electoral level is hardly surprising given the radical nature of the Green parties’ demands and its marginal status, but this by no means invalidates the message or means that it lacks relevance. As Rootes states, the ‘increasingly impressive edifice of institutionalised environmentalism’ (1999:9) fails to respond to the fundamental demands of ecologism and the need for a PE movement has therefore not been superseded.

The third part of this chapter draws on academic writing from an entirely different field – social movement, party and green party literature – and uses this to two ends. The first subsection builds a typology of the different groups of actors who are part of the Spanish PESM; the second subsection looks at the Spanish Greens in the light of academic literature on green parties and small parties alike.

2.1 MANY SHADES OF GREEN AND COMPETING CONCEPTS

Although ‘the driving idea behind green politics – the ecological imperative that we need to save the planet’ (Carter 2007: 42) – has been apparently embraced by

governments and international organisations, the ongoing social and political activism of ecologists is evidence of the latter's conviction that the present environmental commitment is inadequate and that more 'radical and transformative' (Barry 1999: 6) changes are needed. Greens stand for 'the need to live within our ecological means' and the belief 'that our present pattern of economic development is unsustainable, ... putting the planet and its inhabitants in grave environmental, social and economic dangers' (European Green Party 2006). They also abide by 'three main subsidiary principles that have become the hallmark of green politics but are borrowed from other political (left-libertarian) traditions: participatory democracy, decentralisation and social justice' (Carter 2001: 63). These principles underpin not only green party politics but also environmental movement organisations (EMOs) such as *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA), as the latter's 'Ideological Principles' attest (*Ecologistas en Acción* 2005).

However, despite a common-sense understanding of what green politics entails, there are many different philosophical approaches to contend with as evidenced by the extensive body of literature relating to PE. For some scholars (including Dobson 2000, Eckersley 1992 and Vincent 1992), ecologism is a distinct ideology whereas others see it as 'a critical perspective' (Connelly & Smith 1999: 54). Barry prefers to label it a 'theory', and therefore less 'marked by a Utopian style of critique' (1999:2). This rejection of ecologism as too Utopian is also taken up by Blühdorn (2000), who considers ecologism to be too idealistic and no longer relevant. He adds that ecological discourse is 'based on unashamedly value-laden statements about how the world should be organised' and appears sometimes 'entirely oblivious to the world as it actually *is*' (2000: 4).

Blühdorn's position appears to overlook the fact that the iteration of political ideas is routinely based on a set of normative values that advocate a particular vision of how the world should be. Wall, for example, argues that it is 'vital to have some vision of the future' (1990) whilst Pepper states that 'ecotopianism' helps us to sharpen our critique of existing society and potentially acts as a catalyst for social change (2005: 4). As de Geus points out, there is no reason to think that postulating a different

future is any more incoherent than, for example, Marx's socialist vision, though it does go against the present *zeitgeist*, 'characterized by pragmatism, postmodernism, and a lack of faith in ... idealistic political visions' (1999: 19).

In Spain, different positions on PE also abound. A Spanish report on Spaniards' citizenship and environmental awareness, *Ciudadanía y conciencia medioambiental en España* (Valencia Sáiz et al. 2010) appears to espouse a reformist approach to ecologism which believes that it can be accommodated within the liberal tradition (2010: 14-15). According to the report, an ecologist is 'any citizen with a variable degree of commitment who is likely to engage variously on a number of different levels (moral, private and public) ... and who is willing enough to help to bring about some form of sustainable society' (*2010: 61).

Other Spanish ecologists, however, consider PE a distinct ideology which postulates a more radical vision of an alternative society: in the words of a Spanish Green party and *Ecologistas en Acción* activist (*Marcellesi 2008), PE is 'a distinct and global system of political thought' which is clearly differentiated from other ideologies because of its anti-productivist stance and its rejection of human beings' exploitative relationship with nature. Marcellesi's insistence on PE being an ideology is particularly interesting given that, in the same article, he stresses the close links between PE and ecosocialism. In fact, he asserts that these links are so close that it is hard to know whether ecosocialism is a sub-movement within PE or socialism. In practice, there is more of a sliding scale than a gap between Valencia Sáiz et al.'s position and Marcellesi's. This is one of many examples of the semantic or conceptual fuzziness which is part of PE.

Differing opinions abound on numerous other issues. Many scholars admit to problems in reconciling conflicting ideas and theories within ecologism (Dobson 2000; Humphrey 2001; Carter 2007; Soper 1995; Blühdorn 2000). Bryner (2001), for example, highlights the dilemma of attempting to achieve a green society within the constraints of a democracy. As Goodin (1992) points out:

To advocate democracy is to advocate procedures, to advocate environmentalism is to advocate substantive outcomes; what guarantee can we have that the former procedures will yield the latter sort of outcomes? (1992: 168)

Because of such discrepancies, green politics is often accused of being incoherent (see Freedon 1998: 546), although this criticism ignores the fact that other ideologies have always included competing versions and anomalous positions. Ultimately, and in spite of (or thanks to) remorseless self-critique, a flawed but serviceable understanding of PE has been reached, as this chapter will demonstrate. Hajer refers to environmental discourse as ‘fragmented and contradictory ... an astonishing collection of claims and concerns brought together by a great variety of actors. Yet somehow we distil seemingly coherent problems out of this jamboree of claims and concerns’ (1995: 1).

The predominant view expressed by the literature is that these differences are less significant than they appear to be and should be viewed as the healthy and open debate of an ideology which is practising the deliberative democracy it believes in (Dryzek 2005: 112). Smith acknowledges that ‘judgements about the environment pull us in different, and at times competing, directions’ (Smith 2003: 3) and therefore also defends the need for value pluralism. This pluralist approach accepts that conflicts will arise because of incompatible values which can only be accommodated by negotiating an acceptable compromise (Smith 2003: 26-27). Carter, meanwhile, holds that ‘the differences between opposing wings of the environmental movement are more apparent than real’ (2001:34) in that their goals are somewhat similar whilst Freedon, who is critical of green ideology in many respects, acknowledges that there is ‘a distinct green ideological *family*’, in which he includes the eco-socialists (1997: 526).

The following sub-sections will flesh out what this study understands by political ecology, and will explore the different strands of this ideology, highlighting the position of Spanish ecologists in this respect. The analysis of some of the key theories and concepts will result in some working definitions which will be used in the course of this thesis.

2.1.1 *Ecologism versus environmentalism*

One of the simplest ways of establishing what is meant by ecologism or PE is to distinguish it clearly from ‘environmentalism’: this study adopts a number of scholars’ (including Dobson 2000 and Bookchin 1991) use of these terms to denote the ideological distance separating these concepts. The following definitions are an adaptation of Dobson’s ‘rough and ready distinction’ (2000: 2), first formulated in 1990.

Environmentalism argues for a managerial approach to environmental problems, and believes that new technology and a market-driven approach can solve these problems without fundamentally changing our belief in economic progress as the way to maximise the prosperity and well-being of the greatest number of people.

Ecologism holds that a sustainable existence presupposes radical changes in our values and in our relationship with the non-human natural world, in order to tackle the environmental crises which threaten the survival of the planet. These changes can only be accomplished by a transformation in our social and political life.

Table 2.1 sets out some of the binary opposites commonly used to categorise the differences between ecologism and environmentalism. The most frequent dichotomies include the notion of a reformist (environmental, weak) perspective as against a radical (ecological, strong) one. *Environmentalist* positions are on the left side of the table in contrast to the *ecologist* position which generally coincides with concepts in the right-hand column; however, this simple binary table demonstrates that it is possible to be predominantly ‘radical’ and yet hold some reformist views. It would, for example, be possible to be anti-industrialist and anti-capitalist whilst retaining a belief that non-human nature has a value to human beings which is more instrumental than intrinsic (for discussions on intrinsic versus instrumental value see Hayward 1994).

Table 2.1: Green Binary Opposites

| Reformist (Environmentalist) | Radical (Ecologist) |
|--|--|
| Ecological Modernisation | Anti-industrialism |
| Optimists/ Pollyannas/Cornucopians | Pessimists /Cassandras/ Malthusians |
| Prometheanism | Survivalism |
| Anthropocentric | Biocentric |
| Technocentric | Ecocentric |
| Internationalist | Bioregionalist |
| Utilitarian | Preservationist |
| Substance | Process |
| Instrumental value of non-human nature | Intrinsic value of non-human nature |
| Pro enlightenment | Anti-enlightenment |
| Capitalist | Anti-capitalist |
| Sustainable Development I (EU model) | Sustainable Development II (maintain replacement levels) |
| Shallow ecology | Deep ecology |
| Conservationist | Preservationist |
| Environmental responsibility | Environmental justice |
| Social responsibility | Social justice |
| Light green | Dark green |
| Value pluralism | Ethical monism |

For the purposes of this study, any organisation or individual that identifies with at least half of the categories in the right-hand column is likely to consider themselves an ‘ecologist’ rather than an ‘environmentalist’. This pragmatic, approximate approach corresponds to definitions of PE provided by many academics. For example, Dobson accepts the ‘real-world’ definition of a leading Spanish ecologist, Riechmann, who writes that PE is conditioned on a belief in the ‘limits to growth and a questioning of strong anthropocentrism’ (Riechmann 1997: 10 quoted in Dobson 2000: 5).

This approach ties in with Carter’s (2001: 13) view of ecologism which, along with many others (e.g. Dryzek 2005; O’Riordan 1981; Smith 2003 and Barry 1999), also emphasises the *de facto* pluralism of this ideology.

Ecologism is, and perhaps *should* be, informed by a wide range of value theories – a form of value eclecticism – each of which can contribute constructively to the development of an ethical framework to guide human behaviour towards the environment. (Carter 2001: 13)

Consequently, although the terms ‘environmentalism’ and ‘ecologism’ are frequently used interchangeably, there is a clear difference between the two, and this needs to be borne in mind when looking at a PESM. Environmentalists and ecologists often collaborate towards achieving a specific outcome (preventing the building of a new motorway or promoting organic farming) but, whereas the first are motivated by discrete issues, the latter have a worldview and philosophy which touches every area of social, political and economic life. Whereas the importance of environmentalism is now widely acknowledged by most national governments and international organisations, ecologism – with its call for radical value-changes and social and political transformations – remains a political vision, a Utopia that has only been implemented on a small (and hence insufficient) scale, either by individuals or eco-communities. However, there are many different interpretations of this Utopian vision which all feed into present-day PE. The following sub-sections explore some of these.

2.1.2 Deep ecology

Deep ecology entails a deep respect for nature, not because of consequences that might otherwise impact on humans, but out of concern for the intrinsic value (see Hayward 1998) of all species and habitats as interconnected parts of the ‘biotic community (Leopold 1968)’. Deep ecology holds that there is no hierarchy of value and that humans are no more important than animals, plants or even minerals (Hayward 1994: 107).

This philosophical position represents the most radical end of the green ideological spectrum and merits consideration for a number of reasons. Firstly, it acts as a useful corrective to the dominant, anthropocentric view that most environmental measures have instrumental value and serve our interests. As Naess states, many environmental measures are undertaken chiefly for the benefit of ‘the health and affluence of people in the developed countries’ (1989: 28). Naess’ prioritisation of the ecological

diversity of the natural world extends to according habitats equal value to humans. In Spain, this view is only held by a small minority of ecologists. Arne Naess (1912-2009), the leading early exponent of this movement, is the best-known deep ecologist in Spain but his work has not been translated into Spanish although a certain amount has been written about his philosophy (see Iglesias 2009). Nevertheless, his profoundly biocentric ideas mark the extreme end of a biocentric scale which does have some influence in Spain. In a chapter discussing environmental ethics, Garrido (2007: 262-263) – Spain's first 'Green' MP (2004-2008) as well as a scholar – describes three levels of biocentrism and advocates the least radical version, one which accepts self-interest and recognises the need for a slight anthropocentrism, alongside a respect for the biosphere and a commitment to avoid the suffering of other living creatures. Garrido states that most ecologists fall within this least radical group: in his words, the very deep ecologists are just a small sect whilst those who believe that all sentient beings have equal rights form a small group of animal lovers or *animalistas*, as pro-animal rights ecologists are called in Spain. Within the Spanish ecology movement there is certainly a fairly influential current of *animalistas* in some green parties. The following example illustrates the tensions that can arise because of a different level of commitment to the biocentric approach.

The brown bears native to the Spanish Pyrenees were almost on the point of extinction and a decision was made to re-introduce them (El País 21/11/2009). This decision has been controversial, leading to a number of conflicts in different areas, including a stand-off between two groups of ecologists in Ansó, Aragón: the local green party, *Los Verdes de Aragón* (The Greens of Aragon), are in favour of the re-introduction of the bear whereas *Ecologistas en Acción* and a number of other EMOs are against the move (Periódico de Aragón 2010).

This divergence of opinion reflects the tussle within PE between competing claims for biodiversity protection and social justice. Deep, biocentric ecologists such as Sessions (2006) are in favour of setting aside vast 'wilderness areas' which are untouched by humans, whereas more anthropocentric ecologists such as Martínez-Alier prioritise social justice (Martínez Alier 2003). Guha, for example, opposes the

‘portentous consequences of this obsession with wilderness’ (Guha 1994: 283) and cites India’s *Project Tiger* which has set up vast wildlife reserves, leaving many small farmers without lands or the right to use common land. Those who have benefited from the project are wealthy locals and rich tourists who can enjoy nature as yet another consumer good (Guha 1994: 287).

The values of deep ecology and biocentrism which form part of the repertoire of ideas embedded in many Green parties or movements contribute to the mistrust felt by the general public in Spain towards ecologists. The Spanish Greens attracted considerable attention – largely negative – when Garrido put forward a motion in the *Congreso* in 2006, allegedly asking for gorillas to be given ‘human rights’. This incident exemplifies inaccurate media reporting¹⁶ which sparked a flurry of sarcasm and hostile responses in the public sphere, with bishops holding forth in their pulpits against ‘green’ ideas. In fact, Garrido had spoken up in the Spanish Parliament about introducing a law in support of the Great Ape Project (GAP), which defends the rights of the ‘non-human great primates’, namely: ‘the right to life, the protection of individual liberty and the prohibition of torture’ (GAP 2010).

Another position adopted by deep ecologists but which, again, is not part of the Spanish repertoire of PE ideas is the neo-Malthusian belief in reducing the world population drastically. This particular position, which has even led some deep ecologists to state that deaths caused by AIDS or by starvation are just Nature’s way of balancing the ecosystem (quoted in Bookchin & Foreman 1991: 108), led to a bitter counter-attack on deep ecology from a number of social ecologists, amongst them Murray Bookchin (1994), founder of the social ecology movement, a branch of political ecology which is particularly important in Spain and represented by EA, some other EMOs as well as a number of Spanish Green parties.

¹⁶ Garrido had in fact called for gorillas to be granted certain ‘rights’. The media outcry led him to abandon his proposal. It was presented once again by ICV and *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (The Catalan Republican Left, ERC) two years later, supported by PSOE and passed in parliament (El País 25/06/2008).

One idea associated with deep ecology which has had considerable impact in Spain is the notion of bioregionalism. This theory, whose principal exponent is Kirkpatrick Sale (1983), holds that regions should follow natural, geographical boundaries where people should live in small, self-sufficient, sustainable communities. Although the idea is associated with deep ecology, in Spain it has been embraced by ecologists to support their econationalist¹⁷ position (Interview with Vilanova 2007; Garrido Peña & González de Molina 1997). The argument posited by these ecologists (the first Catalan, the latter Andalusians) is that a minority nation constitutes the most feasible means of achieving a polity based on the principles of sustainability and justice. They contend that these nations, linked by a shared history and identity and sharing the same physical environment, are more likely to create an open, democratic government and society, based on principles of cooperation and fraternity. This in turn would enable them to manage their resources for the common good and to adapt policies to meet the specific circumstances and needs of the territory¹⁸.

Although this section has discussed deep ecology as one end of a scale that has shallow ecology (or anthropocentrism) at the other end, the econationalist approach (combining deep ecology principles of bioregionalism with nationalist claims) highlights the complexity of the various ideas included in PE. As Carter points out, the ‘attempt to draw a sharp conceptual distinction between anthropocentrism and ecocentrism is at best misguided, at worst, untenable ... this simple twofold typology fails to capture the rich complexity and variation within environmental philosophy’ (2001: 16).

2.1.3 Ecosocialism and social ecology

There is sometimes a certain degree of confusion when it comes to distinguishing these two variants of PE, perhaps because their names both stress the ‘societal’

¹⁷ Econationalism is similar to bioregionalism but emphasises the ‘nation’ whereas bioregionalism is less concerned with political matters.

¹⁸ Garrido and González de Molina’s article on econationalism acknowledges inherent contradictions in this argument but considers it to be the most viable attempt to create an ecological polity, which would of course retain links to supranational bodies and would subscribe to the ideal of universal citizenship (1997).

(Eckersley 1992: 146), and yet they stand for two different traditions. Both versions are of particular interest to this thesis as a large majority of Spain's ecologists could loosely be said to belong to one of these two camps. The fundamental differences between the two are easily defined: **ecosocialism** – defended by scholars such as David Pepper (1993, 1996, 1998 & 1999), Joel Kovel (2002) Derek Wall (1994, 2005) and Kovel & Lowy (2001) – represents the 'red-green' option, and is the socialist variant of ecology as the name implies. It remains centred on the idea that capitalism is the most important contributory factor to society's ills and that the capitalist system must be overthrown by political means.

The deepest shadow that hangs over us is neither terror, environmental collapse, nor global recession. It is the internalized fatalism that holds there is no possible alternative to capital's world order (Kovel & Lowy 2001).

However, unlike traditional socialism, ecosocialism largely accepts (though there are dissenters) that economic growth is not achievable given the planet's finite resources as well as the need for North/South and intergenerational justice (Riechmann 2006).

In Spain, Catalonia's leading 'Green' party, *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds* (ICV), proclaims itself to be an ecosocialist party¹⁹. At statewide level, a sizeable but minority faction within the Eurocommunist party, *Izquierda Unida* (IU), claims to be ecosocialist and would like the party to move towards ICV's position.

On the other hand **Social ecology**, or eco-anarchism as it is sometimes referred to (Doyle & McEachern 1998), focuses principally on the need for grassroots social interaction to change societal patterns of destructive behaviour (EA 2005), and rejects socialism as being anti-libertarian. In Spain, the main proponents of social ecology are Spain's leading EMO, *Ecologistas en Acción*, who openly declare their affiliation to social ecology. Spanish Greens from the Green-green parties also consider themselves to adhere to the ideas of social ecology (Marcellesi 2008).

¹⁹ Their slogan states in Catalan: '*ICV, d'esquerres i ecologistes de debò*' (ICV, left-wing and real ecologists).

Naturally, the differences between social ecology and ecosocialism are not always clear-cut and there is no clear divide between these two positions which, in practice, share many beliefs and a similar *de facto* position on many issues. For example, the notion of ecocentrism is anathema to ecosocialists, who are anthropocentric and identify humans, and the many societal problems which beset them, as their primary concern (Pepper 1993: 224). This does not preclude ecosocialists from attaching value to nature (Pepper 1998:2) but the value they attach is unashamedly instrumental. They are hostile to what they regard as the quasi-mystical overtones of deep ecology which are much in evidence within some Green parties. On this particular issue, ecosocialism takes a similar position to social ecology.

Both eco-socialism and social ecology constitute anthropocentric ... strong sustainability: being essentially humanistic but also embracing stewardship of nature, environmentally benign but centred on social justice (Pepper 1998: 1)

Both social ecologists and eco-socialists – in other words, all of Spain's ecologists – agree on the need to prioritise the environment but otherwise hold varying stances. The following pages try to illustrate the multiplicity of diverging opinions by examining two sets of binary concepts – Marxism/anarchism and anti-capitalism/anti-industrialism – that help to differentiate ecosocialists from social ecologists.

Anti-capitalism versus anti-industrialism

According to ecosocialists, a truly environmental society will only come about by defeating capitalism (Riechmann & Fernández Buey 2006), which will always act in the interests of the few, exploiting both labour and the planet's resources in the pursuit of financial gain (Wall 2005). Many social ecologists concur: 'Capitalism can no more be persuaded to limit growth than a human being can be persuaded to stop breathing' (Bookchin, 1990: 93–4).

However, some social ecologists reject this stance and are reluctant to lay the blame at the door of capitalism, citing the appalling environmental situation in the former Eastern European Soviet satellite states to illustrate the fallacy of thinking that abolishing capitalism is the answer. These ecologists therefore prefer to point the

finger at industrialism (Dryzek 2005). Garrido, an academic and a leading figure in *Los Verdes*, concurs with the ecosocialists in blaming western industrial capitalism for the environmental crisis (2007: 31) but his criticisms are more muted, and he simply denounces a capitalism which promotes 'infinite growth' (Garrido 2007: 36) without ruling out the transformation of capitalism.

The rationale for taking an anti-industrialist stance varies. Some ecologists are anxious to demarcate themselves clearly from the Marxist, anti-capitalist stance. Others have reluctantly accepted the fact that capitalism is an inherent part of a liberal democracy and is here to stay (Carter 2007: 76). They consequently believe that the only way to achieve policy changes is by meeting the capitalists on their own territory and persuading them that it is in their own interest to change tack (Porritt 2005: 96). This approach, which accepts that capitalism and sustainability are not mutually exclusive is the *realpolitik*, 'piecemeal' position taken by many Green party activists who are seeking office and (frequently) an accommodation with other parties. Ecologists who are reconciled to capitalism therefore prefer to be anti-industrialist, a position which allows them to be against nuclear power, for example, as well as the despoiling of natural surroundings. This position can easily lay its proponents open to the accusation that they are merely conservationists, although if their anti-industrialism is extreme it would be more accurate to say that they are deep ecologists.

The anti-industrialist stance is therefore inimical to ecosocialists and social ecologists because of its consonance with deep ecology. It places the preservation of nature over and above the need to create a sustainable but also fairer society for the human beings who should be the primary actors.

In Spain, the two most influential organisations working within the PESM, ICV and *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA), are avowedly anti-capitalist: the first, ICV, is an ecosocialist party (Gomà & Rius 2006) whilst the second is a movement that subscribes to social ecology. An example of their anti-capitalist stance is the fact that both ICV and EA called on their members to vote against the EU's Constitutional

Treaty, on the grounds that it was enshrining neo-liberalism as a core value of the European Union. This logical line of action, in keeping with the anticapitalist founding principles of both organisations, was not adhered to by the Spanish Green parties which followed the European Green Party's pro-Constitution line, albeit for pragmatic reasons. Whilst both ICV and EA explicitly refer to their anticapitalist ideals, the Andalusian green party, *Los Verdes de Andalucía* (LVA), does not explicitly denounce capitalism:

Work and production must be adapted to meet the real needs of the population, avoiding the exploitation of people and of nature. (Article 1, LVA Statutes 1989)

Although the Spanish Greens regard themselves (and are regarded) as being 'left-wing', their reluctance to take an explicitly anti-capitalist stance leaves them open to criticism (the same is true of numerous other Green parties) and leads critics like O'Connor (1994) to suspect 'many or most greens' who, according to him, 'dismiss socialism as irrelevant' or 'attack it as dangerous' (1994: 163-164).

However, the dividing line between strong and mild opponents of capitalism is less hard to ascertain: ICV and EA collaborate routinely with different bodies and operate within capitalist parameters whilst many Greens are opposed to capitalism. A good example of this convergence of opinions on the matter is illustrated by a relatively recent movement which has taken Spanish ecogism by storm. This is the "de-growth" movement (Latouche 2004; Taibo 2009) which advocates a scaling down of the industrialised world's economy, production and consumption as an urgent measure to address the problem of sustainability and social justice and is much debated in 'alternative left' circles in Spain. Both the social ecologists and the Spanish Greens subscribe to this movement and elements within ICV and IU are also sympathetic to the notion.

Socialism versus anarchism

A deep-seated tension which exists between ecologists and eco-socialists is the anarchist/socialist divide. Many eco-socialists are suspicious of social ecologists and

view them as nimby-ish liberals whilst social ecologists are suspicious of the eco-socialists' 'water-melon' hues (green on the outside and red inside). However, the differences are not just about where to position oneself on the right/left axis.

Eco-socialists retain a strong belief in the power of states and government control. Their view is that transnational environmental problems can only be tackled on a world scale, and that this requires careful global coordination, something which bioregional, local communities would be unable to organise (Pepper 1993: 227):

However, they also concede that the ultimate aim – once 'coordination has been achieved – is to create a more decentralised society' (Pepper 1993: 51). For example, another ecosocialist, Kovel, wants to promote collective ownership of the means of production as well as restoring the commons (Kovel 2002). Ecosocialists are environmentally committed but nevertheless continue to see politics as being essentially about the class struggle. In other words, they are still using the tools of Marxist critique.

Social ecologists are essentially anarchist in their outlook and call for a libertarian approach in which government is kept to a minimum – people are perceived as being better able to live a satisfactory and fulfilling life the more autonomy, decision-making powers and grassroots government they have. Social ecology promotes direct democracy, confederal politics, rejects hierarchy and wants to move towards a world in which people reconnect with nature, and live freer and more creative lives (ISE 2009). They are opposed to large governments elected through the party system, though they are prepared to go along with local politics as this can enable local communities to govern themselves.

Ecologists such as Eckersley (2004) and Naess (1989) do not subscribe to either the Marxist or anarchist view of ecologism: although they welcome decentralisation and grassroots action and decision-making wherever possible, they strongly believe that the nation state retains an important role in establishing a green governance. Furthermore, the last ten years have seen the growing importance of the concept of

‘ecological citizenship’ (Dobson 2003) which also transcends either approach, calling for both a societal ‘rights-based’ approach and an ecological commitment from individuals in order to achieve a sustainable society.

The Marxist/anarchist dichotomy within Spanish PE springs from the origins of the environmental movement in the late 60s. As Karamichas states, when they started out there was ‘both a Marxist and an anarchist current in Spanish ecological thought and praxis’ (Karamichas 2007: 283). Both of these trends persist within both the PESM and the Green parties and, despite the distinction between these two ideologies becoming very blurred in practice, the two labels are routinely used by one faction to voice disagreement of an opposing faction within the broader PESM.

The following section examines sustainable development (SD) and ecological modernisation (EM), two concepts and strategies that are now firmly embedded as environmental policy-making tools within the EU and beyond. However, despite the existence of these environmental tools, this section will demonstrate why Green politics remains relevant.

2.2 IS THE GREEN IDEA POLITICALLY DEAD?

This question, taken from an article by *The Guardian*’s environmental correspondent (Vidal 2005), voices the widespread perception that ecologism has perhaps run its course. Although ‘no one doubts that green thinking has changed the face of European and international politics since it joined the political arena 40-odd years ago’ (Vidal 2005), critics of Green politics argue that the major parties’ co-optation of some of the PE agenda means that there is no further role for Green parties.

However, ecologists contend that green ideas have been subverted and diluted by governments who have embraced a light green environmentalism through their “commitment” to sustainable development and ecological modernization (Giorgi & Redclift, 2000). A number of ENGOS and EMOs are increasingly collaborating with

the administration, providing know-how to implement environmental policy changes, but this does not obviate the need for a more radical political approach. As van der Heijden states (1997), ecologists' collaboration with the authorities merely adds a few green touches but has no impact on a society that continues to pursue economic growth and increased material prosperity.

Vidal argues that minority support for PE is hardly surprising given that its 'stated intention is not just to achieve power but to totally reform human governance to fit the constraints of the biosphere ... the point of green politics is to challenge the status quo, and question what traditional parties might term "progress", or "growth" or "prosperity"' (Vidal 2005). Because no other ideology advocates this radical message, green politics is still relevant.

The following two sections will look at ecological modernisation (EM) and sustainable development (SD), two environmental theories which perfectly illustrate the tension between ecologism and environmentalism as it plays out in the environmental strategies promoted by governments and organisations. An analysis of EM and SD will demonstrate why ecologists contend that environmentalism (the co-optation of a few environmental ideas, often originating from the pioneering work of ecologists themselves) is insufficient and why ecologism still needs to push for a radical transformation of society.

2.2.1 Ecological modernisation

The term ecological modernisation (EM) 'is used to refer to the pragmatic, policy-oriented and anti-ideological approach to environmental issues that superseded the anti-modernist as well as the leftist-revolutionary (ecologist) approaches typical of the 1970s and early 1980s' (Blühdorn 2000: 191). EM is the cornerstone of many of the 'sustainable development' measures implemented by governments and industry, and is based on the notion that economic growth is not only compatible with environmental protection but that there are synergies between the two. It is seen as a win-win situation, offering an industrial rather than an anti-industrial solution. As one of the early scholars of this theory enthused: 'the dirty and ugly industrial

caterpillar transforms into an ecological butterfly' (Huber 1985 cited in Mol & Sonnenfeld 2000: 236).

The theory is that this transformation can be achieved by developing new, environmentally-efficient technologies along with a range of policy instruments such as voluntary agreements, eco-audit and management systems and environmental fiscal measures (Baker 2007: 299). However, the insufficiency of the EM approach has been demonstrated repeatedly. In their study on New Labour's incursions into this area, Barry and Paterson demonstrated that EM strategies were only considered viable as a tool to enhance the competitiveness of the UK economy (2004: 779).

Despite the transformative aspirations and ecological motives of some EM advocates, EM has been welcomed by governments as an innovative income generator. The result is 'green capitalism' with no 'fundamental reassessment of the need for the products of these processes' (Connelly & Smith 1999: 58).

The introduction of EM – a prime example in the Spanish case being windpower – falls short of satisfying most ecologists because of the way in which it is implemented, premised on the need to be competitive rather than to be ecologically-driven. As Hajer says (1995: 4), 'Is ecological modernization to be understood as the materialization of the original ideas of the environmental debate in its early stages, or does it signify the collapse of critical discourse?' The question is not rhetorical, and has no easy answer. Many ecologists are promoting EM, and providing the necessary expertise to further its development. In many cases, the outcomes certainly constitute a 'step in the right direction'. However, others argue that this 'massive surrender to ecological modernisation' (van der Heijden 1999: 203) is so shallowly reformist that it hardly qualifies as pertaining to ecologism.

The Spanish authorities have been quick to seize upon EM as a way of optimising the country's economic position, obtaining EU financial help and gaining credibility for their efforts. One simple example of the benefits of EM is the authorities' widespread promotion of drip irrigation systems which minimise water use. Spain

has also seen the market benefits of organic produce and now leads organic farming in Europe in terms of the number of hectares given over to organic farming (SINC 2010). However, Spain's record on organic farming is contradicted (ecologically-speaking) by the fact that more GM crops are grown in Spain than in any other EU country. 80% of the EU's 2009 GM maize was grown in Spain (CECU 2010). Furthermore, Spain is by no means Europe's 'leading organic producer' when measured by different criteria: 7% of Spain's farming land uses organic methods, a percentage that compares favourably with the UK (4%) but unfavourably with a number of East European countries and, particularly, Austria (18.5%) and Sweden (12.8%) (Eurostat 2010).

A report in the *Observer* by Tremlett (2009) also illustrates EM's use as an economic instrument rather than an environmental one. A small town in northern Spain is now wealthy as a result of numerous concessions granted to landowners to set up wind farms. This resulted in bribes to the town council and a boom in the construction industry so that the '5,000 residents now share three museums, a theatre, a bull-ring and a gleaming sports and swimming centre' (Tremlett 2009). This case is an extreme one, but by no means an isolated one, and exemplifies the present disconnection between EM and a 'real' ecological solution which would entail a 'stronger' form of EM, such as that advocated by Connelly and Smith (1999). Whilst critical of EM as presently applied, they propose a form which would include a process of political, economic and social change called 'reflexive modernisation' (Beck 1992:162). This would comprise measures to reduce consumption, to encourage deliberative public engagement, and would entail a critique and cultural transformation of society (Christoff 1996).

Pepper (1999) also acknowledges that EM is a technocratic project but believes that at least it sets a few ground rules for business. The discourse surrounding EM advocates a climate of dialogue, partnership and shared responsibility, with industrial self-regulation, and these are all to be welcomed. However, he points out that while these measures have been progressively introduced under the auspices of the EU, the EU has concurrently been promoting the Trans-European Network System, a model

of unsustainability with increased capacity in all forms of transport, road-building programmes, more high-speed trains, and increased energy demands.

As the above considerations demonstrate, the concept of EM exemplifies the gap between an environmental and an ecological approach. Despite its potential to contribute towards a more sustainable society, at present EM provides partial, technological solutions to a few areas in order to increase competitiveness and profit. There is, however, no commitment to addressing environmental problems holistically: the problems are seen as merely technological, whereas ecologism views them as part of a broader political and social problem.

2.2.2 Sustainable development

The other concept which exemplifies the difference between environmentalism and ecologism is sustainable development (SD). Bryner highlights the difficulty of knowing what is meant by SD by pointing out that there are 70 competing definitions (2001:22). This ubiquitous concept took root in 1987 when the Brundtland report defined SD as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987). The report is in favour of strong EM and of economic growth, but with provisos. Economic growth is welcomed as long as it does not involve the exploitation of others or the overexploitation of finite resources (WCED 1987:). The report enshrines five core principles of SD (Carter 2007: 218-225): equity within and between nations; democracy and participation; the precautionary principle; policy integration; planning.

Susan Baker (2007) describes the report as 'authoritative' but accepts that the policies promoted in the European Union (EU), a world 'champion' of SD, cannot be considered 'sustainable': this is because the majority of the EU's policy makers (apart from the Environment Directorate) are still engaged in 'business as usual', promoting policies that will maximise the EU's economic growth. SD is therefore 'an essentially contested concept' (Hayward 1994: 97) that has become increasingly devoid of meaning because of the co-optation of the term.

[SD] is a political fudge: a convenient form of words which is sufficiently vague to allow conflicting parties, factions, and interests to adhere to it without losing credibility (Richardson 1997: 43).

Richardson's own view of SD is based on the belief that 'the pursuit of wealth through industrial expansion and economic growth is ultimately incompatible with the Earth's finite resource base. Consumption should be based on human need rather than on human greed' (Richardson 1997: 45).

Although the institutionalisation of SD could be said to have eviscerated the radical potential inherent in the term SD, there is also a more nuanced argument which should be considered. Baker (2007) acknowledges that the EU's commitment to SD is merely a 'declaratory commitment' (2007: 298) but argues that this has a symbolic purpose: by constantly reiterating its commitment to SD, the EU is forging an identity of how it perceives itself and wishes to be perceived by others. This, in turn, opens up the possibility of social change and moving the EU towards a position on SD which is more ecologically sustainable. Carter (2007: 213) recognises the 'ambiguity surrounding the meaning of sustainable development' but, after some deliberation, opts to 'celebrate' the 'fluidity of the concept'. He considers that 'its "all things to all people" quality has helped the message to resonate around the world and to attract followers to the flag' (2007: 217).

Ecologists' cooperation with EM and SD projects is a double-edged sword: on the one hand, both present opportunities to introduce more environmental measures; on the other hand, these discrete measures cannot deliver the new society which ecologists are striving towards.

The first two parts of this chapter have drawn on academic literature to examine competing notions of what is meant by ecologism, as political theory and praxis. The following section looks at Spain's ecologists and, once again, makes use of scholarly literature to provide a typology of the different actors who make up Spain's PESM.

2.3 ENVIRONMENTAL ACTORS IN SPAIN

The following section provides a typology of the different groups which make up the environmental movement (EM) in Spain and briefly examines some key concepts of social movement theory which have informed this thesis. There is no attempt in this thesis to generate new theory about social movements and green parties but rather to make use of multiple theories which can co-exist and help towards increasing one's understanding of Spain's PESM. For example, Rootes' thesis (2003: 8) that countries with flourishing EMOs tend to have weak Green parties and vice versa in no way contradicts Kitschelt's (1988: 219) finding that there is a negative correlation between successful new left parties and Green parties: in other words, that a country is highly unlikely to have both a 'significant' (4% at national or presidential elections, according to Kitschelt) Green party as well as a new left party. Kitschelt's theory ignores the impact of movements on parties whereas Rootes' ignores the fact that Green parties and movements both contribute to the dissemination of PE. The compartmentalisation of both these theories presents an incomplete picture of the situation. In fact, Rootes' and Kitschelt's theories complement each other and point towards a third micro-hypothesis that will be explored in this present study: namely, that the success of Spanish EMOs is linked to the fact that there *is* a sizeable pool of left-libertarians who share much of the Spanish Greens' ideology but are unable to identify with the strategies and organisation of the Green parties.

2.3.1 *The Spanish environmental movement*

The term environmental movement (EM)²⁰ is used here to refer to everyone who is actively interested in environmental matters: it includes 'broad networks of people and organisations engaged in collective action in the pursuit of environmental benefits' (Rootes 1999: 2). The interest may be confined to one or several issues only, and may or may not include adherence to ecologism as an ideology or set of beliefs. In short, all ecologists are environmentalists but not all environmentalists are ecologists.

²⁰ Depending on context, EM can denote ecological modernisation or environmental movement. The acronym will be avoided wherever the meaning is unclear or ambiguous.

The link between the PESM – a smaller group of activists and supporters of PE – and the broader movement should not be disregarded. As Jordan and Maloney (1997:28) point out, ecologists welcome fellow travellers in order to swell their numbers in support of specific campaigns. As a result of their involvement with a PESM network, a number of these fellow travellers may learn more about PE and gradually make the transition from environmentalism to ecologism.

Table 2.2 categorises the different organisations which, between them, cater for all of Spain's environmentalists and ecologists.

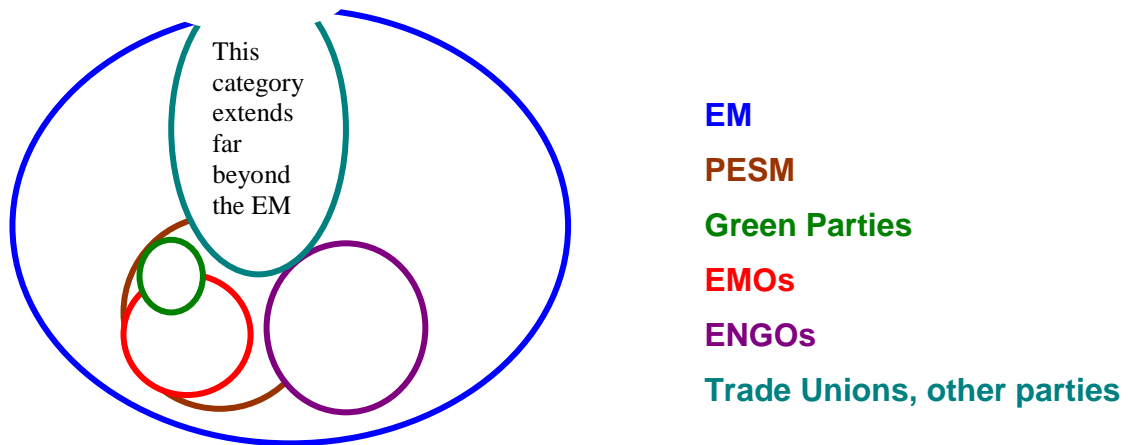
Table 2.2 A typology of the different components of the Spanish EM

| | Goals | Strategies | Groups |
|-------------------------------|--|--|--|
| EM | Policy change often concentrated on single or limited issues | Parliamentary and non-parliamentary; conventional and non-conventional; may include direct action | All ecologists and environmentalists including, for example, trade union groups, members of non-green parties etc) |
| PESM | Fundamental social change; alternative society | Primarily non-parliamentary; non-partisan; non-conventional (spontaneous protest and demos; direct action) | The ecologist NSM : an ad hoc collective |
| EMOs | Fundamental social change; alternative society | Non-parliamentary; non-partisan; conventional and non-conventional (lobbying media, government and direct action). Participatory | Ecologistas en Acción Friends of the Earth Many small organisations |
| Pressure groups/ ENGOs | Policy change often concentrated on single or limited issues | Non-parliamentary; non-partisan; conventional and non-conventional (lobbying media, government and direct action). Professional | Greenpeace WWF/Adena Others |
| Green parties | Fundamental societal change across a wide array of interconnected issues | Parliamentary and non-parliamentary; conventional and non-conventional; contest elections whilst maintaining grassroots links | All of Spain's Green parties |

Source: Adapted from typologies by Bomberg (1999: 22), and della Porta & Diani (1999: 14)

Clearly, such a typology works with theoretical constructs to provide an approximate interpretation that ignores the considerable overlap between the different groups. An approximate representation of the different actors is therefore set out in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Environmental Movement (EM) Actors



2.3.2 The PESM

The term PESM will be used to denote the ecological strand of what are commonly termed the new social movements (NSM). Within the extensive literature on NSMs, there is some consensus about the key characteristics of these movements: they are generally defined as post-1960s grassroots movements advocating a new set of values and lifestyles that could be labelled ‘progressive’ (as opposed to, for example, a racist movement, which could be classified as a social movement but not as an NSM). They call for change through direct action – this includes not only public collective action but also a personal commitment to changes in lifestyle (Jordan and Maloney 1997: 48). The emphasis on lifestyle contributes to the sense of collective identity which is one of the key features of NSMs. They are a ‘collectivity of people united by common belief which is shared by core members and represents their ideological bond’ (Dalton & Kuechler 1990: 278).

NSMs focus on problems linked to industrialisation (della Porta & Diani 1999), are against ‘the commodification of society’ (Kitschelt 1993:14) and are linked to the

rise in postmaterialist values (Inglehart 2008). However, the NSM's links to postmaterialism have been contested by many (e.g. Carter 2007: 95; Martell 1994: 125) who disagree with Inglehart's methodology; others argue that concern for the environment could be considered a materialist issue. In the case of Spain, whilst it is true that a 'postmaterialist' attitude (associated with greater self-expression, freedom, acceptance of non-conformity, tolerance) is one of the hallmarks of the PESM, a sizeable minority of followers are arguably not 'postmaterialists' but simply anti-materialist. The reasons for this are twofold: on the one hand, both catholic and anarchist traditions in Spain were arguably partly responsible for the nascent ecologism of the 1970s:

those who have cut themselves loose from religious moorings search for a new sense of community and social organisation that goes beyond modern liberal individualism' (Kitschelt & Hellemans 1990: 107).

On the other hand, the many years of economic hardship which followed the Spanish civil war meant that in the early 1970s, when the PESM began to take root, most of the population still had material needs. Their ecologism was, in fact, more akin to what Martinez Alier has termed 'the ecologism of the poor' (1995) (this 'materialist' approach to ecologism is dealt with more fully in Chapter 3). Whilst this situation has changed substantially over the last 30 years, quite a number of Spain's 'ecologists' either belonged to this earlier generation or have been influenced by the same perspective.

NSMs are further characterised as 'informal action networks' of people with 'shared beliefs and solidarity' (della Porta & Diani 1999: 14). They are complex and informal networks which do not constitute a single 'organisation' (della Porta & Diani 1999: 14) but rather an amorphous collection of (sometimes inter-related) individuals who share a collective ideology or impulse, and in many instances are not even formal members of any group. Social movement activists or adherents often belong to a number of distinct groups which are part of the same (or related) social movement (della Porta & Diani 1999: 120). This of course contributes to the interconnected

network of shared people/ideas/events and is why it is possible to talk of a single 'social movement'.

These 'networks' are so informal, so diffuse and in constant flux that they defy any attempt to provide an accurate portrayal of the movement in its entirety. However, an analysis of the interconnections between discrete groups within the network can provide a partial picture of the whole movement. Pacifism, anti-nuclear activism, feminism, gay liberation and environmentalism are some of the movements described as NSMs. Each of these has a distinct identity and sphere of interest, although there is likely to be considerable overlap between the different NSMs. (della Porta & Diani 1999).

In the context of this thesis, therefore, the Spanish PESM represents a collective with a shared identity, shared values, and a commitment to political ecology that will lead them to undertake collective action as a form of self-expression, consciousness-raising and an attempt to bring about specific changes. Some of this collective action may involve protest action, but much of it will involve signing petitions, writing letters and even engaging in internet activism. There is no obligation to belong to an organisation. The term therefore includes not only many 'freelance' greens, members of alternative collectives, 'de-growth' advocates and anti-globalisation movements but also the supporters or members of EMOs and Green parties. In the words of a Spanish ecologist who, on occasion, has aligned himself to a Green party:

The Greens and the ecologist movement are two of the actors who must help to give birth to a new era characterised by sustainability, equity, gender freedom and equality, an era that looks after present and future generations of both the industrialised and the developing world (Santamarta et al. 2003).

The PESM also includes many ENGO actors, particularly in the case of an organisation such as Greenpeace. Although the organizational structure of the latter and its instrumental aims do not fit in with the core principles of political ecology, in practice the overlap between many Greenpeace supporters and EMO supporters is considerable. A similar situation applies, for example, to ecologists working within

the Spanish trade unions, often in charge of the union's policies relating to climate change and the environment. In both these cases, the question of whether one chooses to include the organisation within the PESM is irrelevant; certainly, there are individuals working within both these types of organisations who would consider themselves – and are acknowledged to be – ecologists. A well-known example of this is Jorge Riechmann who has written numerous books on ecology. He is actively involved in many different networks relating to the environment, collaborates with the communist trade union CC OO on environmentally-related matters, is on the board of Greenpeace Spain, and an activist in both EA and a movement called *Izquierda Anticapitalista* (the Anticapitalist Left) (Riechmann 2011).

Like many Spanish 'ecologists', Riechmann has maintained a distance from the Green parties. This is also the case with many other well-known or respected ecologists some of whom, at one time or another, stood on the Greens' electoral lists but have ceased to align themselves with such a problematic party. In short, the Greens' strategies are often viewed with mistrust by the wider movement even though their legitimacy as ecologists is unimpeachable, as Chapters 4-6 will demonstrate. Despite this mistrust between the Spanish Greens and the EMOs, in practice the informal links are considerable because 'ecologists' tend to collaborate on numerous issues, and frequently belong to the same social networks. Any analysis of the Spanish Greens therefore needs to understand their role as part of the PESM.

However, the Spanish Greens should not be seen as symbolising Green politics in Spain, which is more accurately represented by the PESM with its clear political as well as social function. An increasing number of academics (and citizens) are questioning, or have already rejected, the notion that politics is the domain of politicians and parties. Increasingly, social movements are seen as 'an essential element of normal politics in modern societies', given 'that there is only a fuzzy and permeable boundary between institutionalized and non-institutionalized politics' (Goldstone 2003: 2). The importance of social movement politics is widely recognised (Castells 1998; Guibernau 1999; della Porta & Tarrow 2005) with

protests, lobbying and playing to the media becoming increasingly routine. In short, in the pursuance of a more democratic, empowered grass-roots approach, and given a general disenchantment with professional politicians, movements can be an effective – or alternative – way of bringing about incremental changes or shifts in policy.

In Spain, the importance of the EMOs as political actors overshadows that of the Green parties, which are generally considered to have a negligible presence or impact (though, it will be argued, this heuristic approach overlooks some of the evidence)²¹.

It is also important to bear in mind the changing nature of the PESM since the movement first started. As Grau and Ibarra state when talking about the work of the Spanish PESM (2006), whereas the role of the movement 30 years ago was to alert society and governments to their lack of environmental awareness, that moment is long gone. Governments and civil society are only too aware of the ecologists' message, and have indeed adopted a similar discourse themselves. The ecologists' role has therefore changed: instead of raising awareness, their role is to remind society to fulfil the commitments they have undertaken.

Although the Spanish PESM generally conforms to characteristics advanced by scholars (Dalton & Kuechler 1990; della Porta & Diani 1999; Carter 2007; Kriesi 1995) when describing NSMs, it has followed a different pattern in terms of its evolution, thus resulting in a movement which is *sui generis*.

For example, Bryner refers to the fact that 'movements typically last 20 to 30 years' (2001: 13) before losing their freshness, dissipating their energy and becoming increasingly institutionalised. Bryner's statement does not hold true in the case of Spain where the PESM has been operating for over 30 years. *Ecologistas en Acción*, the country's leading EMO, has certainly become a more structured organisation but retains its freshness and energy.

²¹ Müller-Rommel's review of the fortunes of European Green parties cites 12 countries, without mentioning Spain (2002: 1)

2.3.3 EMO or ENGO

The term EMO is used by a number of environmental scholars (e.g. Rootes; Jiménez) as a synonym of NGO but referring to organisations that are specifically focused on environmental issues. However, the term ENGO is also used, apparently to define the same kind of organisation. This thesis will, however, draw a distinction between ENGOs and EMOs.

Diani and Donati's analytical framework (1999) highlights two key issues that help to categorise NGOs (the only organisation they refer to): resource mobilisation and political efficacy (Diani & Donati 1999: 15-17). In their view, an organisation has to either mobilise financial resources (this requires fund-raising activities and professional management) or mobilise support from volunteers/activists. Secondly, it must also choose the most efficacious route to bring about policy change: it will do so by favouring the use of either conventional or disruptive tactics. A combination of these variables leads to a simple typology, as outlined in Table 2.3, that helps to characterise most NGOs (and EMOs):

Table 2.3 Diani and Donati's four types of social movements

| | | |
|--|----------------------|---|
| The public interest lobby | WWF | managed by professional staff. Has low participation and uses traditional pressure tactics. |
| The participatory protest organisation | Earth First! | emphasises participatory action, sub-cultural structures and disruptive protest. |
| The professional protest organisation | Greenpeace | combines professional activism and mobilisation of financial resources with use of confrontational tactics alongside conventional ones. |
| The participatory pressure group | Friends of the Earth | involves rank and file members and supporters but uses conventional pressure techniques. |

Source: table based on Diani & Donati 1999

Rucht also provides a typology of social movements' strategies and further differentiates between power-oriented and identity-oriented groups (1999:163). Given the many different types of organisations, and the fact that the dividing line

between them is hard to determine, the present study has opted to simplify the categories even further, with the view that an impressionistic simple categorisation is perhaps more useful. It will therefore allocate the terms ENGO and EMO two distinct meanings which are particularly valid when describing Spain's environmental organisations: the term ENGO will refer to non-participatory, professional, power-oriented organisations with a top-down management structure (such as Greenpeace or WWF) whereas EMO will refer to participatory, identity-oriented, bottom-up organisations. Whereas the first could be an interest or pressure group which focuses on one specific area (e.g. WWF's remit is confined to animals and their environment) and is not necessarily part of the political ecology social movement, EMOs are driven by ecologism and are therefore at the core of the PESM.

In Spain, there are a number of groups which fit into one or other of these two categories, the two main ones being Greenpeace and *Ecologistas en Acción*. The latter will be discussed in Chapter 4, and will be shown to epitomise a participatory pressure group which combines conventional and non-conventional tactics and largely focuses on problems within Spain. Greenpeace, on the other hand, is a decidedly professional and international organisation, with the characteristics of a 'protest business' (Jordan & Maloney 1997) rather than a movement. However, the differences should not be exaggerated. Greenpeace Spain has recently set up networks of local activists in order to increase its connection with sympathisers.

2.3.4 Green Parties

The present section outlines some of the party and Green party literature that has informed this thesis. Focus on the regional dimension of party politics – a central theme of this thesis – is not entered into here but will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Sartori's classic definition states that 'a party is any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office' (Sartori 1976: 64). This denies the legitimacy of many parties which never, or hardly ever, gain representation and consequently the present

study prefers to adhere to Pedersen's (1982) lower barrier as to what should be considered a 'party':

an organization – however loosely or strongly organized – which either presents or nominates candidates for public elections, or which, at least, has the declared intention to do so' (Pedersen 1982: 5).

Spain's Green parties will therefore be considered parties despite the fact that many of them have never won a seat: they are, after all, registered as such, compete in order to win votes, seek office and influence policy – and occasionally enjoy a modicum of success, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. Furthermore, their status as part of a recognisable family of parties strengthens their claim to be regarded as *bona fide* parties.

Inglehart declares (2002: vii) that there is a 'virtually limitless' amount of literature on Green parties, a view corroborated by Deschouwer (2008: 2). Certainly, environmental scholars (including Bomberg 1998 and 2002; Carter 2007; Doherty 2002; Kitschelt 1989 1990; Müller-Rommel 2002; Richardson & Rootes 1995; Frankland et al. 2008) have provided a useful analysis of Green parties in different European countries. Their studies demonstrate that European Green parties share a recognisably common ideology, identity and repertoire of strategies as well as a similar approach to the internal organisation of the party. These similarities are hardly surprising given that many Green parties modelled themselves on the German Greens and belong to the EGP.

Briefly, Green parties arose out of grassroots environmental movements coupled with a new left-libertarian or 'new' politics (see Poguntke 1987 & 1993; Kitschelt 1989) which was pacifist, anti-nuclear, 'feminist', called for global justice, the elimination of poverty and a fair distribution of the planet's finite resources. Green parties' origins were defined as post-materialist (Inglehart 1981), and rejected the relentless pursuit of economic growth. On the party political front, the Greens called for a new style of participatory, non-hierarchical democracy. Far from being single issue parties, as they are commonly portrayed, the Greens' programme was comprehensive, advocating specific policy changes in every area: these changes

emphasised the importance of a strong, welfare state, the redistribution of wealth, solidarity with minorities and with all the world's inhabitants, both in the present and in the future.

Green parties began as 'anti-parties' or movement-parties (Bomberg 1998:3) that were started by groups of actors within the PESM (in the 1970s and 1980s) because of a perceived need to contest elections. Their goals (see Table 2.2) were twofold: electoral success provided the party with access to power and legitimacy for the political ecology movement. If they failed to obtain representation, they retained a testimonial presence that gave greater visibility to PE.

However, from its inception the Green party attracted considerable criticism from certain quarters of the PESM, which saw party political power-seeking as 'fatally compromised', 'grounded in vested interests', and still committed to 'pursuing economic growth and allowing market forces full rein' (Hayward 1994: 191).

Governments and parliaments were believed to lack the power to address the most urgent issues relevant for the survival of mankind ... Why, then, try to get into government? While parliamentary representation might provide a suitable forum for making green ideas and demands known to a wider public, participation in government would at best change very little; at worst, it might merely serve to legitimise the continuation of the Old Politics of growth, militarism, exploitation of the third world and pollution' (Poguntke 2002: 133)

These sentiments were particularly pronounced in Spain (Fernández 1999) when the Spanish Greens were first created and they continue to carry considerable weight.

The party/movement debate (a heated 'Green' topic in the 1980s) is generally thought to have lost the importance it once had. As Bomberg and Carter state: 'Few activists now seriously debate the merits of seeking parliamentary representation as a means of achieving Green objectives' (2006: 99). However, this does not hold true for Spain where the Greens are still viewed by many activists within the PESM with great hostility: in addition to the reasons outlined above, this could also be attributed to 'cross-pressure' (Toka 2003), i.e. the notion that many activists have conflicting political interests (i.e. divided loyalties as socialists, nationalists, IU supporters). By

supporting an EMO rather than a Green party, they are able to maintain their dual identification and be part of a wider PESM.

Green party and social movement literature is divided on the issue of whether Green parties are part of the broader social movement. Even the question of what constitutes a party is open to interpretation. Jordan and Maloney (1997: 68) argue that the difference between movements and parties is imperfectly distinct and that, 'contrary to culturalist interpretations, no categorical distinction can be drawn between social movements, pressure groups and parties. Social movements are best understood in terms of a continuum stretching from informal network-like association to formal party-like organisations' (ibid: 61).

Rootes (1999:2) indicates that 'parties, particularly green parties, are not in principle excluded' from the wider PESM whereas della Porta and Diani view parties as being part of the system of parliamentary, organised democracy, which is what the movements are there to oppose (della Porta and Diani 1999:242). The latter argument does not take into account that a maverick representative within the parliament is effectively being 'oppositional' and that his input could therefore be welcome to PESMs (as was the case when two Spanish Green MPs were in the *Congreso* during the 2004-2008 government). Furthermore, the presence of Greens at any level of government gives green ideas a broader political platform: at the very least, this constitutes a piecemeal gain in that some of these ideas may go on to be co-opted by other parties.

Since they first made an appearance, many academics have thought that Green parties would prove to be a 'flash party', doomed to disappear (Bramwell 1994). In their work on linkages, Lawson and Merkl stated that the Greens' prospects were poor as they address interests only held by a small minority (1988: 12). They argued that once the major parties realised that the issues in question had acquired a certain salience which could lose them substantial support, they would adopt the necessary green measures in order to restore linkage (Lawson and Merkl 1988: 36). Despite these predictions, Green parties appear to have increased their presence (albeit

modestly) in many European countries. However, they remain a minority party and still fail to attract a number of people who might be sympathetic to Green ideas but who are alienated by problematic issues or contradictions which characterise these parties.

Green party literature has addressed a number of issues or problems relating to the structure, organisation and strategy of these parties. A few of these issues, where particularly relevant to the Spanish Greens, are introduced here but will also be revisited later on in the course of this thesis.

Green party formation

Lucardie's (2000) theory on parties as 'prophets, purifiers, prolocutors or personal vehicles' (the Greens are 'prophets') pinpoints three factors which are necessary to the foundation and success of a new party: a political project which addresses 'social problems considered urgent by a significant number of voters' (2000:176); resources such as 'members, money, management and mass media exposure' (2000: 175); and finally, a favourable political opportunity structure (POS). The Spanish Greens do not meet most of these criteria and it is therefore unsurprising that they have failed to establish themselves as a national party of some substance: the problems they address are only considered urgent by a tiny minority (although this situation also prevails elsewhere); the Spanish Greens are also woefully low on financial and human resources. On the question of POS the situation is slightly less negative. Although the electoral system makes it almost impossible for the party to gain representation at statewide elections, the electoral system for the European elections is entirely proportional, and the regional and local elections potentially offer an easier entry point to smaller parties.

Nonetheless, and in spite of a few electoral successes, the Spanish Greens' position resembles that described by Lucardie: 'many prophetic parties ... never enter parliament but die at its doorstep' (2000: 178). They build a 'proto-party' but fail to evolve into a political party of any standing. As Lucardie states (ibid: 179), proto-parties can instead become political pressure groups, political clubs, think-tanks

outside the party system, or even constitute a faction within an existing established party. Given the number of green parties that exist in Spain, and the different strategies they pursue, it could be said that they have variously, and at different times, chosen all of these options. Since the party was founded in 1984, it has constantly re-formed and continues to ponder its identity or future development.

Green party organisation

As Doherty states, the Greens 'have failed in practice to live up to all the ideals of grassroots democracy' (2002: 115). The praxis of political life has led many Green parties to accept the need to act decisively and swiftly by having small, tight groups of well-informed, professional politicians. They have also accepted the need for professional marketing, networking with the 'enemy' and other similar activities. In spite of this capitulation, Frankland et al. demonstrate empirically that the Greens have managed to avoid becoming a professional-electoralist party (2008: 5). Instead they have evolved from an 'amateur-activist' to a 'professional-activist' party, in other words retaining the 'democratic paradigm' (2008: 260). In the case of the Spanish Greens, the activism remains an essential component but the amateurism has been replaced by a semi-professionalism born out of some access to power and the institutionalisation of Green party leaders who have become well acquainted with the electoral system.

The Spanish Greens still suffer from a set of organisational problems that more successful Green parties have overcome. Two studies, in particular, have helped to situate the Spanish Green party's organisation within a wider framework. Kitschelt and Hellemans' (1990) study of the Belgian Green parties and Kitschelt's comparison of German and Belgian parties (1989) afford numerous insights into the organisational structure of green parties. For example, they refer to the prevalence of 'stratarchies' or small factions within many green parties, each with their respective leaders, and consequently endless personality clashes and internal conflicts over strategies. Kitschelt (1989) also stresses that party leaders with no chance of being elected tend to be ideologues who accept the need to work through the main parties because no other avenues of influence are available (Kitschelt & Hellemans 1990: 408). They adopt a 'logic of constituency representation' which leads them to pursue

strategies that maximise policy impact rather than seeking votes in the short term. Pragmatists, on the other hand, are more focussed on obtaining representation at any possible level of government and therefore adopt a 'logic of party competition' (Kitschelt and Hellemans 1990: 18).

Further insights regarding party organisation from these two studies have been invaluable in helping to situate the Spanish Greens in a comparative framework.

Green party strategies

Spanish Greens differ in their objectives: they either seek office, election, policy change or to strengthen the party's identity. Their strategies, or means of achieving these objectives, have therefore differed substantially over the years and have been a source of intraparty and interparty conflict. The decisions taken by individual green parties as to which direction to pursue can, initially, be tenuously arrived at but can go on to have a lasting influence on the development of that party. As Kitschelt states, '... a party's past strategies and policies influence the recruitment of activists and the strength of intra-party groups (Kitschelt 1989b: 408). The Spanish Greens are a clear example of path dependency in that they appear to be locked into 'processes that are ... unable to shake free of their history' (David 2000: 19).

Gunther defines Spanish political parties as 'modern electoralist' parties and further divides these into different categories: catch-all, programmatic, and personalistic parties (2005: 259). According to this theory, a 'programmatic' party, such as the Spanish Greens aspire to be, needs to remain 'committed to a specific ideology or set of program priorities over several elections' if it is to 'command much greater loyalty on the part of its voters than ... the more ephemeral catch-all party' (Gunther 2005: 260). Unfortunately for the Spanish Greens, although their core ideology and priorities have been coherent over the years, their strategies to achieve electoral success (their constantly changing alliances with a variety of political parties with intermittent periods in which they have stood alone) have in fact obscured their ideology as they have slid in many cases into being a 'personalistic' party: is it

possible for a party to seemingly maintain the same ideology but share a political platform with IU, PSOE and nationalist²² parties?

Differences as to which strategic approach to adopt have been particularly problematic. The party/movement dichotomy has already been addressed, and the next few pages briefly outline the green/red-green dichotomy and the '*fundi*'/'*realo*' dichotomy.

The Greens and the Left

A number of influential studies by Kitschelt, Poguntke and Müller-Rommel clearly define the Greens as 'new politics' or 'left libertarians' and, by and large, most academics have now come round to the view that the Greens are decidedly a left-wing party (Doherty 2002).

Kitschelt coins the use of the term left-libertarians to cover both 'new left' and ecology parties, sees the two as sharing many characteristics and therefore scarcely distinguishes between the two – although he implicitly acknowledges there is a difference: he suggests that Green parties appeal to 'more ideologically moderate' voters' (1988: 219), a view shared by many commentators. Müller-Rommel (1999) classifies Green parties in Europe according to whether they are prepared to make an accommodation with a social democratic agenda or are firmly opposed to it: by and large, although there are exceptions, the Greens are more disposed to collaborate whereas he reserves the term 'new left' for the radical alternative left which is not prepared to compromise with capitalist parties. In Müller-Rommel's view there is therefore a clear difference between these two strands of left-libertarianism but this assessment, and Kitschelt's, are of course generalisations that do not take account of the specificity of different manifestations of left-libertarianism in a particular country.

It is undeniable that Greens and the New Left – chiefly represented in Spain by IU and ICV – share 'programmatic outlooks and electoral constituencies' (see Kitschelt 1988:

²² Chapter 3 offers an explanation for this use of the word 'nationalist' which is used to designate 'regional' parties which consider themselves to be representing a distinct 'nation' and therefore reject being designated as 'regional'.

195). Kitschelt makes no mention of the single clear difference between the two, namely the fact that the Greens' ideology is explicitly based on ecologism. In Spain, the boundaries between IU and the Greens are unclear, with some Greens calling for a programme which is closer to IU's, and a faction of IU advocating ecosocialism and degrowth (Latouche 2004).

Another point which needs to be clarified with greater precision is the question as to what is defined as 'left'. Kitschelt and Müller-Rommel's definitions clearly refer to what March and Mudde refer to as a 'democratic socialist party', i.e. parties such as IU that are 'to the left of social democracy', that 'accept parliamentary democracy but retain a radical commitment to systemic transformation, usually through a commitment to grassroots democracy and (especially) through a rejection of capitalism (March & Mudde 2005: 34) – although, as has been shown, some Greens rejection of capitalism is not unequivocal.

However, when other scholars mention the Greens' accommodation with the 'left' (e.g. *Environmental Politics*, Volume 11, a series of articles on the Greens in government) they are referring to the social democrats. It is important to distinguish between these two different alliances with the 'left', in the Spanish case at least: a left-libertarian alliance (between the Greens and a 'democratic socialist' party like IU) is ideologically coherent; by contrast, there is a far greater gap between the Greens and a large social democrat party (like PSOE).

Despite predictions to the contrary, over the years the Greens have increased their share of the vote across Europe but there is a general consensus that they no longer 'play a significant role within the radical left of Europe' (March & Mudde 2005: 33). In Spain, the relationship between the Greens and IU has been a long and difficult one, but has (so far) led to the creation of Catalonia's 'successful' ecosocialist party ICV. Elsewhere, IU and the Greens maintain *ad hoc* alliances in a number of regions, but both parties have seen their share of the vote decrease. Despite a pool of left libertarian voters, neither alternative left party is prospering. In Spain, IU – previously 'successful' – is struggling for survival. This suggests one of two possible

outcomes: IU and the Greens will either have to resolve their many differences and form a party similar to IU's sister party in Catalonia, ICV or alternatively, both parties are likely to remain as 'proto-parties'.

Realo or Fundi

Another strategic dilemma for Green parties, and linked to the previous one, is whether to retain their independence – thereby strengthening the party's ideological identity – or whether to accept that politics is 'the art of the possible'. The conflict which played itself out in *die Grünen* between the radicals (*Fundi*) and the pragmatists (*Realos*) has been well documented by numerous scholars (including Doherty 2002; Carter 2007; O'Neill 1997) and was eventually 'won' by the *Realos*. In a similar way, many of Spain's green parties have opted for strategic alliances with a number of parties. As Poguntke explains in his article on Greens in government, cooperation with a majority party is more effective than holding out ineffectively for a fundamental transformation of politics and policy, although a Green party can still make it clear that 'Green policy objectives go far beyond the rather limited reforms that are possible under the constraints of coalition government' (Poguntke 2002: 144).

A small party

A key problem facing green parties everywhere is the uncomfortable truth that they are 'permanent minority parties' (Duverger 1959) and, at best, 'can only expect to play a relatively minor role in coalition government since their growth has had clear limits everywhere' (Poguntke 2002:137). All of Spain's Green parties (apart from ICV) are in an even less favourable position and could be designated a 'flop party' (Mustillo 2006), i.e. a new party which never gains more than 1% of the vote and lasts no more than 4 election cycles (although according to this definition, Spain's green parties have lasted 5 election cycles and therefore no longer belong in this category).

Given their survival, it would perhaps be more correct to characterise them as niche parties. Adams et al. argue that, as niche parties, neither the Greens nor the left-libertarians can afford to moderate their policies without losing some of their

supporters who have precisely chosen this small party because of its specific ideology. Thus, 'ideological stability may actually be an optimal vote-seeking strategy for niche parties' (Adams et al 2006: 515).

One of the most problematic aspects for the Spanish Greens as niche parties is that they are considered single issue, environmental, parties. Given their limited resources when campaigning, they have to weigh up the impact of focusing on their perceived core distinctiveness or risk diluting this message by campaigning on issues that accentuate their similarity to IU.

In spite of the limitations of size – even successful Green parties think that their ceiling can never rise above 10% – it is important to remember the importance of pivotality (Bolleyer 2007) and the party's coalition potential. This has afforded some of the Spanish Greens a certain measure of success until now.

Yesterday's party

Without a doubt, the Greens' increasing institutionalisation and the passage of time has dulled the party's message and image across Europe. They've lost their 'glamour and innocence' (Frankland et al. 2008: 3), and as Doherty states:

The old utopianism and confrontational critique has gone from most Green parties, and with it much of the excitement' (Doherty 2002:120)

Green parties who get into government as part of a coalition are viewed as a pragmatic, 'realist' party which has abandoned any notion of pushing for a radical, paradigmatic policy change (Rüdig 2002: 79, speaking of *die Grüne*). In Catalonia, where ICV has been a minority player in a regional government coalition since 2003, its credentials as a 'green' and 'new left' party seem irredeemably tarnished to many from the PESM.

A number of scholars have commented on the fact that the Greens' problem with trying to attract more voters is further compounded by a downturn in conventional politics (Richardson 1995: 121; Katz and Mair 1995; La Palombara 2007; Dalton and

McAllister 2007: 139). This phenomenon is apparent in Spain where new single issue 'parties' have sprung up to oppose the party system.

The Spanish Greens are therefore in an apparently impossible position: their ideology is as radical as ever but their accommodation with the political establishment is likely to alienate many ecologists or the anti-globalisers who perceive the Greens as being power-hungry, no different from other politicians and far too ready to compromise. The Green party has failed to capitalise on any initial appeal it might have had, and potential new voters now have a range of alternative, protest-vote parties to choose from. Given these circumstances and the persistently weak identity of the parties, their future trajectory seems problematic.

Chapter 2 has drawn on a number of scholars to examine a number of key concepts and themes that are central to understanding political ecology in Spain. The themes have included the following: an examination of the difference between ecologism and environmentalism; multiple definitions of ecologism; sustainable development and ecological modernisation as two concepts that highlight the ambiguity of environmental discourse; a typology of different PESM actors and key issues relating to green party literature. Before moving on to Chapter 3 the chapter will end with an apologia which will outline political opportunity structure (POS) and the reasons why this thesis decided not to use this analytical framework rigorously.

2.4 CIRCUMVENTING THE 'WINDING, SNARLING VINE'

Goodwin and Jasper's reference to political opportunity structure (POS) as 'a winding, snarling vine' (1999: 28) is just one of the many criticisms made regarding a theory (model or concept) which is routinely alluded to in most studies on Green parties and movements. As mentioned in Section 1.6, this thesis does not make explicit use of political opportunity structure (POS), and the decision to circumvent POS undoubtedly springs from a desire not to become involved in the heated debates and semantic deliberations surrounding POS. However, the rationale for this decision

needs to be justified given that POS is regarded as a standard tool for analysing social movements and parties.

This section begins by looking at some of the literature on POS, and highlights the range of divergent interpretations as to what this concept includes. Subsequently, it defends the decision to analyse Spain's Green parties and movements without making explicit use of POS, although it acknowledges its indebtedness to many discrete concepts and ideas which feature in the POS literature.

2.4.1 Multiple interpretations of POS

The introduction of the term POS is sometimes attributed to Eisinger (1973)²³ – see Kriesi (2004: 69) – but had in fact 'already found some currency in urban sociology and politics through Greer and Orleans's (1962) article', as Rootes points out (1999b:5). Subsequently, it was taken up by numerous scholars, in particular sociologists including Tilly (1975 and 1978), Gamson, Tarrow (1983, 1989 and 1994), and particularly McAdam (1982), who regarded themselves as 'structuralists'. McAdam, in particular, is credited with being the pioneer of political process theory (PPT), a theory which 'recognises a central role for opportunity in the emergence of collective action', the other two 'essential ingredients' being 'organisational readiness and insurgent consciousness' (Buechler 2010: 62).

The emergence of POS as an analytical tool in the late 1970s provided sociologists with a new framework to analyse SMs by taking into account the political context within which they operate. At that time, this new approach represented a real innovation in the study of social movements and collective action which, until then, had ignored the impact of exogenous factors. POS quickly became the dominant paradigm in SM theory, as evidenced by many seminal studies which explicitly used a

²³ Eisinger (1973 in McAdam 1996: 23) said that POS is 'the degree of openness of a political system to the social and political goals and tactics of social movements.' According to Rootes (1999), Eisinger only mentions POS once.

POS model (e.g. McAdam 1982; Kriesi et al. 1995; Kitschelt 1986; McAdam et al. 1996b; Brockett 1991).

However, the POS framework was interpreted somewhat differently by the numerous researchers who each established their own POS approach. Rootes takes most of the POS theorists to task about their ‘stretching’ of the POS concept. Rather than analysing variables that can be viewed as ‘genuinely structural’ they also, as Rootes states, include others ‘which are contingent or simply conjunctural’ (1999: 7). Even scholars such as McAdam (but see also Kriesi et al. 1995; Diani and Van der Heijden²⁴ 1994) include dimensions of POS that could be considered not to be ‘genuinely structural’. McAdam identifies four dimensions of POS: (i) the relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system; (ii) the stability of or instability of that broad set of elite alignments; (iii) the presence or absence of elite allies; (iv) the state’s capacity and propensity for repression (McAdam 1996.:26- 27)²⁵. Items iii and iv are not ‘structural’ in the strictest sense of the word. Instead, they represent what Tarrow has defined as ‘consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment’ (1998: 76-77).

A definition provided by McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly once again indicates that their conception of the structural is less strict than Rootes’.

'Political opportunity structures are ... the formal organizations of government and public politics, authorities' facilitation and repression of claims-making by challenging groups, and the presence of potential allies, rivals, or enemies'. (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 1996: 24)

By the mid 1990s, although many scholars had taken great trouble to define their multiple understandings of POS, the term itself had become ubiquitous and was routinely inserted in numerous works which did not specify what they understood by this term, which began to be used somewhat indiscriminately, making no distinction

²⁴ Diani and Van der Heijden restrict the term ‘political opportunity structure’ to ‘the legal-political framework that any movement has to confront when making its claims ... variables that may be expected to remain relatively stable, at least in the mid term.: the openness of political and legal-administrative institutions and the number of actors in a given polity’ (1994: 368).

²⁵ Kriesi et al. (1995) use a similar modified version of this concept

between POS, simple political opportunity and PPT, which was of course a far wider framework.

The popularity but pervasiveness of the term was so widespread that Gamson and Meyer wrote:

The concept of political opportunity structure is in trouble, in danger of becoming a sponge that soaks up virtually every aspect of the social movement environment – political institutions and culture, crises of various sorts, political alliances, and policy shifts.... It threatens to become an all-encompassing fudge factor for all the conditions and circumstances that form the context for collective action. Used to explain so much, it may ultimately explain nothing at all.(Gamson and Meyer 1996: 275).

However, this did not prevent them from pointing out that the media should be another component of POS, thereby adding another ‘fudge factor’ (Gamson and Meyer 1996: 287). A number of further dimensions have also been added by different scholars: Lucardie (2000: 175) includes socio-economic and cultural conditions, Koopmans states that ‘opportunity ... generally refers to constraints, possibilities, and threats that originate outside the mobilizing group ... Structural characteristics of political systems, the behaviour of allies, adversaries, and the public; societal "moods"; economic structures and developments; cultural myths and narratives— all of these can be sources of mobilization opportunities’ (Koopmans 1999: 96).

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald’s key work on social movements is only too aware of the multiple definitions surrounding POS, one of the central themes of this book.

Scholars have defined or interpreted the term differently, applied it to a variety of empirical phenomena, and used it to address an equally wide range of questions in the study of social movements. This lack of consensus is clearly a problem (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 25).

Despite the book’s rigorous attempt to ‘bring more analytic clarity to the concept’ (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996: 26), its implication that POS or ‘political opportunity’ (the distinction between the two is somewhat blurred by most scholars)²⁶

²⁶ Rootes refers to POS as a ‘concept in retreat’ (1999: 13), and points out that although Tarrow used the term POS in the first edition of *Power in Movement* (1994), by the second edition (1998) most of

had become a 'hegemonic paradigm' offended two academics who subsequently published a critical article on POS (Goodwin and Jasper 1999: 28). Goodwin and Jasper's central objection to POS (or PPT, political opportunity²⁷) was that POS's structural bias played down and misinterpreted cultural and social factors; furthermore, the concept was 'muddled', 'tautological, trivial, inadequate, or just plain wrong' (1999: 28).

A number of scholars (Tarrow, Tilly, Koopmans, Meyer) wrote articles defending their positions and, in turn, dismantling Goodwin and Jasper's objections. These articles constituted the opening chapters in a work edited by Goodwin and Jasper (2003) which spans numerous viewpoints on POS, from the structuralist to the constructionist or socio-cultural approach. This book was published at a time which seems to have been a turning point for POS. By 2004, the general consensus in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* was closer to the following position, as outlined in a chapter from the latter book on feminism:

Current social movement theorists define opportunity structures as comprising temporally stable elements, both formal institutional arrangements as well as cultural patterns and expectations, in addition to dynamic elements of shifting alignments and policy windows interpreted through issue cultures, public discourses, and media frames. (Marx Ferree & McClurg Mueller 2004: 588)

As della Porta and Tarrow state, the structural approach has dominated the study of social movements for the last 30 years, has 'reoriented the field to the study of organizations, networks, power and politics,' and led to useful empirical findings. By now, however, the POS/PPT approach might 'be approaching the limits of its usefulness' (della Porta and Tarrow 2005: 5).

In short, POS is a slippery and contentious concept which is often used indiscriminately (Rootes 1999:1); in the right hands, it can be a useful tool which

the discussion on POS simply refers to 'the concept of political opportunity' (Tarrow 1998: 76-7 in Rootes 1999: 13).

²⁷ Although Goodwin and Jasper berate POS scholars for confusing these three terms, they occasionally fall into the same trap.

allows one to compare a few rigorously defined variables in order to try to determine how exogenous factors impact on social movements (and, by extension, a political party such as the Greens); in other instances, it means no more than a simple window of opportunity.

The present study opted not to use POS for a number of reasons which are outlined below.

2.4.2 A justification of the ‘circumvention’

Firstly, the ‘paradigm wars’ (Tarrow 1999), or controversies surrounding the use or misuse of POS, disavow the use of this concept unless it is rigorously defined. Certainly, it should not be used ‘loosely’ as many have tended to do when citing ‘a favourable POS’ or ‘openings in the POS’ without specifying what these entail (see O’Neill 1997; Krouwel & Lucardie 2008: 307). Müller-Rommel’s use of the term could also lay him open to criticism from the ‘paradigm warriors’. In an article which discusses the electoral success of Green parties – an article which lists ‘a number of factors’ (1998: 148) without mentioning POS – he finishes with a table headed ‘Opportunity Structures and the Greens’ Electoral Success’ (1998: 153). This lists five independent variables used to determine the likely success of Green parties in the countries analysed: Federalism, Moderate Party System, Cartelised Party System, Unemployment Rate, Growth (sic) National Product. His choice of the term POS seems inappropriate given that his variables include factors which are not structural; on the other hand, he omits the electoral system, which is generally held to be a structural element of the political system (but which he thinks is less influential in the formation of new parties). Müller-Rommel’s use of the term POS in this instance is surely another example of the term having been adopted indiscriminately as a more academic synonym for the term ‘situation’. Its ubiquitous use makes it a useful term which carries little explanatory power.

Secondly, it was decided not to make explicit use of POS in this thesis because the latter is ideally suited to a comparative study in which a number of variables are cross-matched (Koopmans 1999: 101). If this thesis had set out to compare either

Spanish green movements or parties with a number of similar parties or movements elsewhere, then a POS approach might have been appropriate.

However, the thesis provides a comparative case study of the PESM in Catalonia and Andalucia. As such, one of the central objectives is to deepen understanding of the differences and similarities of the PESM in these two regions in order to highlight the impact of the regional dimension on the Spanish PESM. The emphasis lies, therefore, on studying these two cases in depth, including not only the parties but also the movements involved in the PESM. If the study had opted to determine whether regionalism was an important factor, using a POS analysis, it would have ideally examined all 17 regions. This might have appeared to be a more 'scientific' approach but the findings may not have been reliable or useful without first having a deeper understanding of the conjunctural and structural factors pertaining to Spain. Furthermore, it would have been difficult to use data from both the parties and the movements: given the numerous small movements, the study would have had to exclude them from the data, thus falsifying the results.

It could also be argued that an analysis which includes a structuralist POS element is more suitable in the case of a country that has already been studied in great depth. In his 1986 seminal study on the anti-nuclear movement, which used POS to make a comparative analysis between the movements of four different countries, Kitschelt argued in favour of arriving at a 'generalized understanding of the factors that determine the dynamics of social movements' because, as he said, many case studies had already been done and had already 'generated much description' (Kitschelt 1986: 57). This is, however, not the case in Spain.

Furthermore, if one looks at Kitschelt's influential study on anti-nuclear movements (1986), the dangers of using such a simplified and spare model become apparent. Kitschelt's study, whilst making a few generalisations that have stood the test of time, has been criticised on a number of fronts (Rootes 1999: 2-4; Meyer 2004: 131; Rucht 1990; Flam 1994), both for his methodology and the accuracy of his conclusions. When Rucht and, later, Flam, subsequently studied the same anti-nuclear movements as

Kitschelt they came to a number of different conclusions because they attached different values to the variables employed by Kitschelt. For example, Kitschelt's categorisation of Germany as having a 'closed' as opposed to 'open' government has surprised many critics, given the federal nature of this country and, consequently, the increased points of access for social movements. Kitschelt doubtless had good reason for designating Germany thus, but other scholars have been equally justified in assigning opposite values to the government system. This demonstrates the problems associated with using a 'scientific' approach such as POS. Sometimes, the desire to generate theory can lead to an over-simplified or even distorted version of the situation.

An example of this is illustrated below. Table 2.4 sets out Kitschelt's simple matrix, showing how the combination of weak and strong input and output structures influences the dynamics of social movements in a given country. Spain was not in Kitschelt's original table, and the characteristics he attributed to the dynamics of his four countries (France, Sweden, the United States and West Germany) broadly speaking corresponded to perceived perceptions of those countries' social movement dynamics. However, if we use the same dimensions to examine Spain's social movements, it is immediately clear that there is a problem. Few would question that Spain's output structure is strong, thus placing Spain in one of the two upper squares.

The problem arises when trying to determine whether it should be classified as having an 'open' or a 'closed' political input structure. Like Germany, it is a federal state and therefore should, perhaps, be considered as having an 'open' structure (although Kitschelt clearly did not think this was the case for Germany) in that the regional governments have had many powers transferred to them. However, in the case of the nuclear question (which is what this particular table is concerned with) this is not the case. It could be argued that the table would gain in clarity if it specified that the input structure refers specifically to this one issue.

Table 2.4 Hypotheses about the relationship between POS and the dynamics of social movements

| | | POLITICAL INPUT STRUCTURES | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---|---|
| | | <i>Open</i> | <i>Closed</i> |
| | Strong | 1) Assimilative movement strategies dominant 2) Significant procedural gains 3) High substantive policy innovation 4) Few structural pressures (Sweden – and Spain?) | 1) Confrontational movement strategies 2) Few procedural impacts 3) Limited substantive elite reform; low-medium innovation 4) Strong structural pressures (France – and Spain?) |
| POLITICAL OUTPUT STRUCTURES | Weak | 1) Assimilative movement strategies dominant 2) Significant procedural gains 3) Substantive impacts: tendency towards policy stalemate; medium-low innovation 4) Few structural pressures (United States) | 1) Confrontational movement strategies 2) Few procedural impacts 3) Few substantive impacts: tendency towards policy stalemate; very low innovation 4) Strong structural pressures (West Germany) |

Source: adapted from Kitschelt's Table 2 (1986: 68)

Moreover, it is hard to define Spain as either 'open' or 'closed' as regards input structures in that this depends on a number of different factors: for example, the saliency of the issue in question, the level of government, media interest and the political persuasion of the party in government. Consequently, it is really impossible to place Spain in either one or other of these two boxes. A further difficulty would have to include the fact that, in Spain, nuclear power has always been strongly opposed by the majority of the population. Consequently, this factor alone would carry far more weight than the degree of openness of input structures.

A final reason which militated against using POS in the present study is the fact that, whilst POS has been used in a number of comparative studies to explain the success of some Green parties (see Kitschelt 1988a; Müller-Rommel 1993; Bomberg 1998; Frankland 1995), it is primarily ‘useful for the study of collective action’ (Kriesi et al. 1995: xiii), a framework that can help to explain the emergence, development and impact of protest movements. The present study is more focussed on the identity of each of the parties and movements and the interaction between these disparate groups.

2.4.3 POS factors

Despite its rejection of POS as an overarching theory, the present thesis is informed by numerous scholarly works in this area. These have offered many insights into the range of opportunities and constraints that can help or hinder parties and movements from achieving their objectives and have also pinpointed issues that serve as points of comparison with the Spanish PESM. A number of these are discussed at length in the course of the thesis, but are listed (not exhaustively) in Boxes 2.1-2.3. As Meyer has stated, opportunity variables are multiple. They are ‘often not disproved, refined, or replaced, but simply added’ (Meyer 2004: 135). This thesis has made use of many of them, but with no attempt to bring them together to create a new theory or prove a hypothesis.

Box 2.1 Opportunities/constraints related to the territorial dimension

- A ‘decentralised institutional design’ is a factor that ‘facilitates popular activism’ (Kriesi and Koopmans 1995: 38-40) and opens more access points.
- Regional governments provide opportunities to environmental movement and Green parties because it is this tier of government that is responsible for legislation pertaining to, for example, many environmental matters: transport, social issues, etc.
- Sub-national governments and regional party systems offer small parties increased opportunities. The quasi-federal system allows less established green parties to secure a regional base and to implement some policies if they gain some access to power, thereby establishing the legitimacy of party. (Kitschelt disregards the impact of federal systems but both Müller-Rommel and Rootes feel it is an extremely helpful factor).

Box 2.2 Opportunities/constraints related to political factors

- If there are two ‘alternative left parties’ vying for power one is very likely to have no success (Kitschelt 1988)
- Proportional representation is generally held to open up opportunities to new or small parties. Both Kitschelt and Müller-Rommel disregard the impact of electoral systems as a factor of success.
- A change of government can suddenly open up new possibilities to a party but also to social movements (or indeed close any possible possibilities)
- The alternative left has increased chances of gaining ground when the moderate left is in government
- The strategies of social movements can have an impact on parties (Meyer 2004)
- There is a link between open/closed governments and the nature of collective action. The more closed the government is, the more likely it is that there is a low volume of participation but that action is confrontational and even violent, though this declines when the left is in power. This is the case in France (Kriesi et al. 1995)
- Actors are more likely to form parties when NSM demands are not met by established organisations and institutions. Kitschelt and Rootes also think that conflictive post-materialist issues are likely to encourage the formation of green parties.
- Kitschelt contends that a Green party will not prosper where there is a very strong social movement. This must be set alongside Rootes’ assertion that institutionalisation of the environmental movement has led to the creation of Green parties (Rootes 2010: 623).
- The openness and ideological positions of other political parties can constrain the success of the Greens (Kriesi et al. 1995, Rucht 1996)
- Societal cleavages can open up or constrain a party’s possibility of gaining ground (Meyer 2004)

Box 2.3 Sociocultural Opportunities/constraints

- Historical precedents are also a POS factor (Meyer 2004)
- Societal cleavages can open up opportunities or indeed constrain a party’s possibilities (Meyer 2004)
- The Spanish institutions’ failure to implement European Union directives (until recently) has provided the PESM (including the Green parties) with a golden opportunity to highlight environmental and social irregularities
- Party membership is not part of Spain’s political culture. The greens are no exception. Without members and little institutional support, the party’s resources are very limited and this impacts on efforts to increase its profile.
- A feature of Spanish political culture is a continuing loyalty to the progressive or traditional camp in Spain, mainly represented by the 2 main political parties; in some regions there is a further ‘nationalist’ dimension which has a loyal electorate.

In conclusion: ‘factors’, ‘dimensions,’ ‘opportunities’ and ‘constraints’ are a constant feature of this thesis but appear as part of a narrative. This ‘misuse’ of POS theory has allowed for a greater flexibility to provide a more in-depth analysis of the Spanish PESM.

Chapter 3 moves beyond ecologism to examine a number of factors which, it will be argued, are generally overlooked or misinterpreted by scholars when they examine the PESM in Spain. The resulting studies have always therefore portrayed the PESM in a more negative light than it warrants.

CHAPTER 3: CULTURE AND TERRITORY

According to Closa and Heywood (2004: 240-241), in the last 30 years Spain has undergone ‘a gradual process of normalisation [and] the country is a fully integrated, mainstream member of the EU on a par with other established states’. Whilst acknowledging that Spain is ‘idiosyncratic’ in some respects and that this has some explanatory value, their main contention is that it is time to stop pigeon-holing southern European countries as outsiders’ perception of the country.

Nonetheless, whilst acknowledging Spain’s ‘normality’ (Wiarda 2000), this chapter contends that specificities exist and certainly contribute to Spain having a distinctive political culture and system, albeit one that continues to be misinterpreted because outsiders’ perception is inaccurate (Chislett 2008: 207). The present chapter will examine three areas that reflect Spain’s distinctiveness and which certainly have explanatory value as far as Spain’s PESM is concerned: Spain’s political culture; its putative position as an environmental laggard, and its quasi-federal territorial arrangements. In all three cases, by understanding the context within which this movement operates it will be possible to correct or question some generalised beliefs about the Spanish PESM. The chapter firstly provides a corrective to the perception that Spain has a weak environmental movement, an assumption that is based on the low membership of environmental organisations. This, in turn, is linked to Spain having a supposedly deficient civil society and political culture. As we will see, this causal link is invalid. Secondly, the definition of Spain as an ‘environmental laggard’ will also be questioned. It will be argued that Spanish society is – on average – no more or less ‘environmental’ than elsewhere in Europe (bearing in mind that the measurement of what constitutes a more ‘environmental’ society will partly depend on the variables used). Section 3 examines Spain’s territorial arrangements because, although scholars of territorial politics have focused extensively on the Spanish case (Keating & Wilson 2009; Swenden 2006; Swenden & Maddens 2009), this dimension has often been overlooked by scholars of party politics or social movements. However, regionalism (or nationalism)²⁸ permeates

²⁸ The words ‘nationalist’ and ‘nationalism’ will be used, from henceforth, as synonymous with the more commonly-used English-language word ‘regional’, in order to observe Spanish language and

every area of political life in Spain. It is arguably Spain's most contentious issue, 'one of the deepest and most delicate problems which has prevented the emergence of an integrating national identity' (León Solís 2003: 2). The final section, 3.4, will examine how the territorial dimension has influenced, and continues to influence, the trajectory of the PESM.

3.1 POLITICAL CULTURE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE PESM IN SPAIN

This section questions the assumption that Spain has a weak civil society by examining a number of different, but related, issues.

3.1.1 *Political culture*

Spanish writers (among them Subirats 1999; Pérez Díaz 1998; Aja 2001; Torcal, Gunther & Montero 2002) attest to Spain's almost complete transformation over the last 30 years but retain a few reservations as to Spain's continuing democratic deficit in a couple of areas. Pérez Díaz, for example, expresses concern about the 'tensions between the process of western Europeanization and the persistence or re-creation of traditions moving in quite the opposite direction' (Pérez Díaz 1998: 8). In other words, cultural traits from a previous era continue to exercise undue influence.

Examples of these traits, highlighted by Subirat (1999) and Wiarda (2000), include the persistence of corporatism, clientelism, elitism and authoritarianism. Subirat imputes the persistence of this culture to the fact that Spain is still 'different' in one important area: 'The country generally has no concept of the public sphere as an area of collective responsibility and also lacks a strong, structured and responsible

cultural conventions. This is because the 'nationalist' label is used in Spain, with less semantic precision, to qualify people or concepts that advocate greater self-determination on the part of a nation or region²⁸. This option may seem to fly in the face of accepted English-language convention (which makes a distinction between 'regionalist' and 'nationalist' parties) but has been chosen to maintain the more open-ended nature of the terms as well as the emphasis on the emotional force of the terms (for example, the Scottish 'Nationalist' Party is a 'nationalist' party, even though some activists – in the past – did not necessarily aspire to independence). In order to avoid possible confusion, the term 'Spanish Nationalism' (with a capital N) is used to refer to statewide nationalism which holds that Spain is a single nation.

presence of what is known as civil society' (*1999: 19-20). Other scholars emphasise the country's 'political alienation, apathy and non-participation' (Montero 1993:158), and largely blame this on Spain's difficult political development which has resulted in an apathetic society 'bred from cynicism and the fear of involvement after a long period of repression' (Pujas & Rhodes 1998:1).

3.1.2 Spanish civil society

This section will demonstrate that the assumption that Spain is more apathetic or lacking in civil society than other European countries is a value judgement based on a particular interpretation of what a flourishing civil society entails. Spaniards, including scholars (Valencia Sáiz et al. 2010), have inclined towards viewing their own political and social system somewhat negatively (victims of the cynicism referred to by Pujas and Rhodes perhaps). A recent Spanish study on citizenship and environmental awareness (one which analyses CIS data taken from surveys between 1995-2009) comes to the conclusion that 'ecological citizenship' is weak in Spain (*Valencia Sáiz et al. 2010: 25). The authors hold that although there are clear signs of an increasing environmental awareness there is insufficient commitment from citizens as far as adopting more sustainable lifestyles, or joining associations linked to PE (Valencia Sáiz et al. 2010: 25).

Interestingly, another study carried out just before this one, and based on some of the same data (a CIS 2007 survey on attitudes to the environment, a summary of which is provided in Appendix M), makes similar observations but reaches a more positive conclusion:

Our society is predominantly 'environmentalist' and people are markedly environmental in their values as well as their behaviour ... although we still have a long way to go before we catch up with countries like Germany or Sweden, particularly when it comes to our behaviour (*Echavarren 2009: 27).

Echavarren's interpretation is unusual within the Spanish context but demonstrates that the evidence is not irrefutably negative. Nevertheless, even he concurs with Valencia Sáiz et al.'s (2010) conclusion which stresses the country's weak civil

society and the low levels of associationalism (Valencia Sáiz et al. 2010: 112). As the latter study states,

Spaniards tend to give their moral support to environmentalism and to a certain extent cooperate on a voluntary basis on a personal and domestic front. However, their active participation in environmental causes is very slight (*Valencia Sáiz et al. 2010: 133).

Analyses such as these are commonplace and are used (O'Brien 2006; Keating 1999) to account for the weakness of the country's environmental movement. However, this thesis argues that this causal link is somewhat misleading and is, furthermore, based on a very particular definition of what constitutes 'active participation'.

Admittedly, Spain has low levels of associationalism. The 2005 World Values Survey's comparison of different countries' levels of associationalism (WVS 2010) demonstrates that the Spanish are markedly disinclined to belong to voluntary organisations (see Table 3.1): in fact, the Spanish – despite an earlier democratic transition and stronger economic position – lag far behind the Slovenes, who score the same as the French: on average, each Spaniard is an active member of .38 of a society in comparison with every Slovene or French person who is an active member of 0.68 of a society. These figures are far lower than the UK's, where each person actively belongs to 1.25 societies. These indicators unequivocally demonstrate that the Spanish are traditionally not great 'joiners'. It is inferred from this that Spain therefore has a weak civil society and hence a weak environmental movement and Green party. However, this reasoning is flawed as the empirical evidence demonstrates. For example, the French Green party has intermittently had considerable success (certainly, much more than the English Greens) in spite of French society having a fairly low level of associationalism.²⁹

²⁹ This argument demonstrates the flawed reasoning in equating a low level of associationalism with a weak environmental movement. However, the figures in Table 3.1 which relate solely to belonging to an environmental movement tell a different story. Despite the French recording an overall relatively low level of associationalism, their environmental score is one of the highest.

Table 3.1 Inactive (I) and Active (A) participation in 7 categories of voluntary associations – showing the percentage of members within a country's population

| | Religion | | Politics | | Labour market/economy | | | | Global agenda | | | | Leisure | | | | | |
|----------|----------|----|-------------------|---|-----------------------|----|--------------|----|-----------------------------|---|--------------|----|---------|----|------|----|------|------|
| Country | Churches | | Political Parties | | Trade Unions | | Professional | | Environmental Organizations | | Humanitarian | | Sports | | Arts | | All | |
| | I | A | I | A | I | A | I | A | I | A | I | A | I | A | I | A | I | A |
| Romania | 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0.11 | 0.12 |
| Spain | 12 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 6 | 0.40 | 0.38 |
| Slovenia | 16 | 12 | 5 | 2 | 11 | 9 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 8 | 12 | 18 | 7 | 9 | 0.71 | 0.68 |
| France | 6 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 12 | 9 | 8 | 23 | 7 | 11 | 0.54 | 0.68 |
| Germany | 29 | 15 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 10 | 32 | 7 | 11 | 0.75 | 0.75 |
| UK | 17 | 19 | 8 | 3 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 21 | 11 | 30 | 9 | 22 | 0.82 | 1.25 |

Source: adapted from the WVS Five Wave Aggregated File 1981-2005 (WVS 2010)

Values for 'All' show the inactive and active per capita levels of participation in each country, i.e. the average number of associations which each person belongs to.

Furthermore, the failure to adhere to the dominant conception of how civil society is defined – historically, as defined largely by ‘Anglo-Saxon scholarship’ – by no means implies that Spain’s civil society is ‘weak’ in absolute terms; it just means that it is weak if a particular definition of associationalism is used as the yardstick. In a book comparing Spain (which has a successful democracy but weak civil society) and Brazil (with a strong civil society but a weak democracy), Encarnación even questions the ‘myth’ that a strong civil society necessarily guarantees a successful democratic system (2003:4).

In short, the concept of what constitutes a ‘civil society’, is not vigorously analysed, as Karamichas states, and may therefore be an ‘irrelevance’ (2007: 280). It is certainly open to different interpretations. Castells (1997) argues that loose networks, specific mobilisations and internet networks have replaced traditional organisational associations: his theory holds true for Spain, where civil society is characterised by vast displays of solidarity and mobilisation over discrete issues, as and when they arise (Tremlett 2006). Commentators of the 2004 Spanish general election (which took place three days after the Madrid bombings) attributed PSOE’s unexpected win to the power of civil society – about eleven million people demonstrated in support of PSOE (Tremlett 2006: 263) and young voters launched a text campaign urging friends to vote in order to avoid returning the PP to government (Oppenheimer 2004; Prieto del Campo 2005: 43). Chapters 4-6 will provide further evidence of the high level of participatory, non-institutionalised activities.

Events such as the above contradict the notion that Spain has a weak civil society and suggest that the concept may need to be redefined. Furthermore, the country’s ‘weak associationalism’ could also be questioned on other grounds. Spanish society has many examples of associations, but these do not feature in the WVS questionnaires. For example, the preparations for the numerous *fiestas* which take place throughout Spain involve huge numbers of inhabitants in events that arguably do more to promote a sense of belonging and solidarity than the UK ‘club’. In the cities, in addition to organising neighbourhood fiestas, there are also many effective associations such as the *comunidad* (a type of residents’ association) which includes

everyone in a particular block of flats: the association is extremely active in ensuring that the building and services provided are up to standard and residents are expected to attend the regular meetings. It seems, therefore, that the reluctance to 'join' (as illustrated by the previously cited WVS survey) applies predominantly to organisations which are impersonal and not based on contiguity.

3.1.3 Spaniards' political engagement

A recent study by Fernández and García (2008) further questions the correlation that is held to exist between associationalism and political activity. Whilst not denying the importance of associationalism (clearly, it would be in the interest of Spanish EMOs if more people signed up as members), they add that there is a complementary and equally important non-institutionalised activity which has previously been disregarded when it comes to measuring Spaniards' involvement in politics. Their argument (supported by the analysis of a comprehensive attitudinal survey) maintains that traditional associationalism is in fact linked to individuals with a low degree of social trust and closely related to a political party whereas those who believe in non-institutionalised participatory activities (protests, signing petitions, strikes) are generally more trusting, sociable individuals with a greater interest in politics and a propensity to dialogue, argue and participate with others in a more spontaneous fashion. It is these non-institutionalised individuals who are at the heart of a new civil society (as propounded by Castells): 'non-institutional mechanisms have become a source of democratic values, control of government, and generation of social trust' (Fernández & García 2008: 489).

In other words, Spaniards' failure to 'join' societies (i.e. environmental movements or Green parties) does not need to be viewed as the result of apathy and lack of interest but stems from a different conception of the political. Fernández and García's 'spontaneous' and 'politically active' individuals are likely to engage in social movements but without becoming members of an organisation.

Morales (2005) also questions the truism that Spaniards are apathetic and uninterested in politics. She recognises that, after a brief period of great interest

during the transition (1975-1982), Spain is registering some of the lowest levels of interest in politics and associationalism in Europe (Morales 2005: 54), thus leading many Spanish analysts to declare that fewer people are involved in politics in Spain. However, she believes it is important to define what is meant by 'political involvement'. Her findings confirm that young people are less likely to vote than older people but are more likely to engage in non-institutional activity. Her findings demonstrate that Spaniards' attitudes since the transition have not changed very much as far as their engagement goes. 'In fact, there seem to be few reasons to be excessively optimistic or pessimistic about it all' (*Morales 2005: 84).

Consequently, surveys in which a large majority of Spaniards routinely voice their lack of interest in politics should perhaps not be regarded as anything more than an expression of cynicism about politics. Vassallo's study (2006) shows that, when asked three key questions (whether they are interested in politics, discuss politics or feel close to any party), Spaniards are twice as likely as British people to say they have no interest in politics. However, they are only slightly less likely to 'feel close to any party' and are slightly more likely to discuss politics. Her findings even show that there is a little more interest in 2005 than 20 years ago, with 20-30% expressing an interest in politics: more people discuss politics than two decades ago, and more people read the newspaper, go to political meetings and collaborate with parties.

Torcal, Gunther & Moreno (2002) also highlight the fact that Spain's deep-seated anti-party culture and a mistrust of politicians does not prevent a healthy turnout at election times. The turnout in the Spanish general elections is generally higher than the UK's as the last results in both countries show: the turnout in Spain was 73.85% in 2008 (down from 75.66% at the previous election) (MIR 2010) compared with the UK's 65.1% in 2010 (61.4% at previous election) (UK Political Info 2010).

3.1.4 Elections and attitudinal surveys

Another characteristic of the Spanish political system which derives from the country's past history and which has also contributed towards fostering a certain cynicism about politics is the fact that the electoral system was expressly designed to ensure political stability: to foster a two-party system and to weight the results so

that the more conservative (rural) votes counted for more. Voters therefore adopt a very pragmatic position at election time, particularly in the general elections. This pattern (common enough elsewhere but pronounced in Spain where the majority parties are particularly dominant³⁰) is blamed on the Spanish electoral system which, whilst theoretically proportional, in fact favours only the parties receiving the most votes in any province (see Pallarés & Keating 2003: 244), frequently leading to a two party race³¹: in the general elections, districts only have 6 seats on average³², which means that a party needs to win more than 16% of the votes in order to win a seat. Only very populated provinces, which therefore return many MPs (35 for Madrid and 31 for Barcelona), have an electoral system which is nearer to being genuinely proportional – although even here, there is a bias in favour of the most voted parties.

The electoral system is particularly unfavourable to small, statewide parties who fail to concentrate a sufficient number of votes in any one constituency; this is in sharp contrast to the nationalist parties who may win fewer total votes than the small, statewide parties but nevertheless are more successful at winning seats in the few districts they contest.

The Spanish public is well aware of the constraints of the electoral system and this factor, as well as an inclination to support one or other of the dominant political cleavages (left or right; centralist or nationalist) has contributed to the Green party's difficulty in attracting voters. However, despite the Greens' poor election results, a number of surveys published by CIS (*Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, the Spanish Centre for Sociological Research) suggest that there is far more support for Green political ideas than the election results demonstrate. Table 3.2 shows that a significant minority of respondents defined themselves politically as being ecologists. The high score entered for ecologism (fourth highest if one aggregates respondents' first and second choices) suggests that there is far more support for Green ideas than evinced by the election results.

³⁰ As pointed out on p. 80, in the 2008 general election PSOE and PP obtained 92% of the seats between them

³¹ The exception to this is in the regions with strong nationalist parties which are frequently successfully in obtaining a substantial percentage of the vote.

³² This average excludes Madrid and Barcelona in order to prevent distorting the average.

Table 3.2 'How would you define yourself politically?'

| Ideology | 1st choice (%) | 2nd choice (%) | Total (%) | Ranking |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Conservative | 13.8 | 3.4 | 17.2 | 3 |
| Christian Democrat | 6.9 | 4.9 | 11.8 | 6 |
| Liberal | 12.4 | 7.5 | 19.9 | 2 |
| Social Democrat | 7.8 | 4.2 | 12 | 5 |
| Socialist | 19.1 | 4.9 | 24 | 1 |
| Communist | 1.4 | 0.9 | 2.3 | 11 |
| Nationalist | 3.5 | 2.6 | 6.1 | 8 |
| Feminist | 1.3 | 3.1 | 4.4 | 10 |
| Ecologist | 5.8 | 9.5 | 15.3 | 4 |
| Apolitical | 5.0 | 0.2 | 5.2 | 9 |

Source: *adapted from CIS Barometer January 2010, Questions 11 & 12

Another CIS survey, as listed in Table 3.3, also demonstrates a considerable degree of sympathy for ecologism, which elicits the third highest score in the ranking. Although these results must be interpreted cautiously (because, as will be shown in Section 3.2, differently-framed surveys apparently arrive at very different results), at the very least the answers given by these respondents contradict the notion that there is a lack of interest in environmental matters in Spain.

Table 3.3 'On a scale of 0-10, list your sympathy with the following movements'

| | 0-1 No sympathy | 2-3 | 4-6 | 7-8 | 9-10 A lot of sympathy |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| Ecologists | 5.9 | 5.5 | 35.8 | 28.7 | 17.1 |
| Animal Welfare | 3.0 | 3.5 | 30.4 | 31.0 | 27.7 |
| Political parties | 32.7 | 23.0 | 34.1 | 5.0 | 0.9 |
| Pacifists | 9.2 | 7.8 | 37.5 | 22.2 | 13.3 |
| Feminists | 12.3 | 11.0 | 40.0 | 18.2 | 9.0 |
| Pro Human Rights | 2.2 | 1.8 | 23.2 | 33.7 | 33.0 |
| Trade Unions | 21.4 | 14.2 | 38.9 | 12.8 | 5.2 |
| Gays and Lesbians | 18.6 | 9.9 | 35.6 | 16.4 | 8.9 |
| Anti-globalisation | 12.9 | 9.9 | 32.2 | 12.1 | 4.9 |
| Religious organisations | 24.7 | 13.7 | 36.6 | 13.2 | 6.2 |
| Immigrant support | 11.7 | 8.5 | 42.4 | 20.6 | 8.8 |

Source: *adapted from CIS Barometer, March 2010, Question 7

This section has demonstrated that it is simplistic and inaccurate to link problems relating to Spain's PESM to the country's weak civil society: viewed differently, Spanish civil society is not weak, the link between weak civil societies and poor democracies is flawed, and none of these factors are responsible for the deficiencies of the Spanish Greens. The Spanish Greens' failure to capture a larger percentage of the vote is not related to the country's weak associational culture (as stated by Holliday 1997: 171) but to a series of other inter-related factors that will be examined subsequently.

3.1 SPAIN AS AN ENVIRONMENTAL LAGGARD

As well as being characterised as having a weak civil society and a deficient political culture, Spain is routinely considered to be an environmental laggard, an attribute that is linked to the country's predominantly materialistic stance which in turn is linked to its undeniably late economic development (in comparison with other Western European countries) as the following statement illustrates:

A post-materialist movement marooned in a society obsessed with economic growth and the politics of materialism is hardly likely to impact on events, however sensibly it behaves' (O'Neill 1997: 262)

The following section seeks to correct this assumption which has been contested by a number of scholars (see Richardson & Rootes 1995:14) but which is nevertheless frequently invoked to explain the insufficient support which PE is accorded in Spain.

Firstly, as Martínez Alier has pointed out (1995, 2003), academics such as Inglehart, who have linked ecologism to postmaterialism, base their theories on the world's most developed economies and on the commonly held assumption that ecologism primarily concerns those who have satisfied their material needs. However, it overlooks what Martinez Alier (1995) calls the ecologism of the poor, namely the powerful environmental campaigns that often develop in Third World countries where many people are unable to satisfy their most basic material needs because

their natural resources have been commandeered by a company or individual as a money-making commodity. Given Spain's economic circumstances in the early days of ecologism, it is therefore incorrect to assume that Spain is less likely to have a strong ecologist movement on the grounds that it is insufficiently post-materialist. There is, however, a case for arguing that Spain's PESM straddles two different approaches to materialism: on the one hand, many within the PESM are middle-class urban 'post-materialists' who share a similar worldview to ecologists elsewhere in Europe; on the other hand, the movement counted on (and still does, though less than before) the support of local activists who often joined the movement because of specific issues, many of which were rooted in social conflicts deriving from a sense of injustice at the exploitation of land and resources which were considered part of the commons.

Furthermore, despite scholars' insistence on postmaterialism being far less widespread in Spain than in other European countries (Gibbons 1999; Cantijoch 2009), the Eurobarometer's analysis of public opinion (Eurobarometer 2010), shown below in Table 3.4, shows that Spain's 'post-materialist' position (as shown in its attitude to immigration, crime and the environment, for example) is relatively similar to that of other EU countries. Admittedly, Spain is far more concerned about the economy than the other selected countries, but this probably reflects the scale of the problem facing Spain in 2009 rather than Spaniards' attitudes concerning materialism. In 2007, only 5.7% of Spaniards thought the economic situation was the most important issue (CIS 2007)³³.

³³ The issue is not even mentioned in the Eurobarometer Factsheets corresponding to that year, as it is too low down on the list of major issues.

Table 3.4 Public opinion as to the two most important issues facing respondents' countries at the moment? (Answers expressed as percentages)

| | EU average | UK | Spain | France | Germany |
|------------------------------------|------------|----|-----------|--------|---------|
| Unemployment | 51 | 38 | 66 | 59 | 58 |
| Economic situation | 40 | 28 | 55 | 31 | 16 |
| Crime | 19 | 36 | 11 | 16 | 13 |
| Rising prices and inflation | 19 | 8 | 10 | 22 | 16 |
| Healthcare | 14 | 10 | 2 | 11 | 21 |
| Pensions | 9 | 6 | 2 | 14 | 7 |
| Immigration | 9 | 29 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| Taxation | 8 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 |
| Education | 7 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| Housing | 5 | 8 | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| Terrorism | 4 | 6 | 12 | 2 | 3 |
| Environment | 4 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 4 |
| Energy | 3 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 2 |

Source: adapted from Eurobarometer Factsheets 2010

The low priority that Spaniards accord to environmental questions according to Table 3.4 tallies with other CIS surveys (see Table 3.5 below) and appears to contradict previous surveys (see Tables 3.2 & 3.3). This apparent contradiction could lead one to hypothesise that Spaniards respect the social aspect of environmentalism (they value the organisations and identify with the ideology as represented in Tables 3.2 & 3.3) but are far less persuaded that the environment is the single most salient problem.

Table 3.5 'What is the worst problem facing Spain right now?'

| | April 2010 / % | April 2009 /% | April 2008/ % | April 2007/ % |
|---|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Unemployment | 79.6 | 75.7 | 52.0 | 37.4 |
| Economic problems | 46.8 | 54.1 | 48.2 | 18 |
| Parties and Politicians | 19.4 | 8.8 | 7.2 | 11.9 |
| Immigration | 13.3 | 14.4 | 26.1 | 31.9 |
| Terrorism (ETA) | 12.3 | 16 | 31.4 | 36.5 |
| A further 14 problems ranked above the environment & 6 had a lower ranking. | | | | |
| Environment | 0.5 | 0.4 | 2.8 | 2.4 |

Source: *adapted from 4 CIS Barometer Surveys, April 2007-2010

By contrast, a Eurobarometer survey examining attitudes towards climate change showed that Spanish respondents' views are similar to those of other Europeans, as illustrated in 3.6:

Table 3.6 Europeans' Attitudes Towards Climate Change 2008
Responses to two different questions

| | EU 27 Average | Spain | France | UK |
|--|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| Global warming / climate change is a very serious problem | 75% | 83% | 84% | 59% |
| Totally disagree that the seriousness of climate change has been exaggerated | 31% | 34% | 30% | 33% |

Source: adapted from Special Eurobarometer 300, 2008

Similarly, it is necessary to provide a corrective regarding Spain's status as an environmental 'laggard'. The designation of countries as environmental 'laggards' or 'pioneers' describes the reactive or proactive environmental approach of different countries in a comparative context, applying very circumscribed and limited criteria. These terms should not, however, be applied loosely to make value judgements about a country's environmental status.

In her comparative studies on the implementation of EU environmental policy, Börzel (2001; 2003) questions the methods used to categorise countries' environmental performance and states that it depends on *how* the analysis is carried out. The present thesis also contends that it is important to establish *what* is analysed (problems vary from one country to another) as well as the timeframe for these studies. Each country is in a unique position, is constrained by different political and socioeconomic needs, and should therefore be viewed as a *sui generis* case.

Börzel (2003) considers that a number of 'Southern Problem' questions are 'wildly exaggerated' (2003: 7) and takes issue with the so-called 'Mediterranean Syndrome' thesis and its 'fatalistic and reductionist impetus' (2003: 30). For example, one of the key indicators used to single out the laggards and the pioneers is the question of compliance, but as she demonstrates, the question of determining which countries are

more compliant than others is largely a ‘statistical artefact’ (2003:7). Her study shows that Spain had a very poor compliance record and was therefore classified as a laggard. However, this was because Spanish EMOs reported many infringements to EU institutions in the 1990s (when her data was collected) because this was the most effective way of drawing attention to environmental problems, given that the mechanisms for doing so within Spain were deficient (2001: 810). Börzel’s compelling evidence to discredit the ‘laggard’ label also includes her finding that the four worst EU-15 laggards – in terms of non-compliance – are, in fact, Italy, France, Belgium and Greece.

Börzel’s studies argue that Spain’s poor reputation is not entirely merited. Further considerations can be brought to bear to strengthen this judgement. For example, if one uses different instruments to measure Spain’s ecological standing, it occupies a ‘better’ position than most of the EU-15 countries. Table 3.7 lists a few EU countries in terms of their per capita ecological footprint and per capita carbon footprint (the first is an indicator of environmental sustainability and calculates the number of hectares needed per person to produce the resources they consume and to absorb their waste (GFN 2005); the second measures the tonnes of carbon dioxide equivalents per person). According to these figures, Spain is by no means an environmental laggard.

Table 3.7 The Ecological Footprint of Spain and other European countries

| | Ecological Footprint Hectares per person 2005 | Carbon footprint per capita (CO2 tonnes) 2010 |
|----------------|---|---|
| Sweden | 6.1 | 10.5 |
| France | 5.6 | 13.1 |
| United Kingdom | 5.6 | 15.4 |
| Spain | 5.4 | 10.9 |
| Ireland | 5.0 | 16.0 |
| Germany | 4.5 | 15.1 |

Source: Global Footprint Network 2005 and Carbon Footprint of Nations 2010

Furthermore, it could be argued that indicators about a country’s environmental sustainability or otherwise should not be based on current data but should be based on cumulative figures. Cumulative CO2 emissions since 1850 show that Spain has

accounted for about 1% of the world's CO₂ man-made emissions, as compared to France's 3%, Germany's 7% and the UK's 6% (Pewclimate 2010).

Finally, OECD data on countries' per capita total primary energy supply and CO₂ emissions from fuel combustion demonstrate that Spain has an environmentally sounder record than countries such as Germany, France or the United Kingdom (OECD Fact book 2010). In fact, the country's commitment to wind power and its position as the world's leading solar power generator (The Guardian 13/07/2010) means that in some respects it could be defined as an environmental 'pioneer'.

The preceding argument does not set out to claim that Spain has a 'better' record than other countries but simply seeks to emphasise that culturally-determined judgments about Spain's reputation as a laggard are unjustified, because the criteria used to apportion blame or praise on different countries' environmental probity are untenable. Furthermore, as has been noted, the link between postmaterialism and the environmentally-aware position of some developed countries does not constitute a sounder 'ecological' position and could be viewed as nothing more than a sophisticated consumerism which has moved beyond satisfying tangible material needs to securing intangibles such as clean air and unspoilt countryside.

In short, O'Neill's criticism of Spanish society as being 'obsessed with economic growth and the politics of materialism' (O'Neill 1997: 262) overlooks a number of points: firstly, the pursuit of a more ecological way of life is not necessarily incompatible with 'materialism'. At the core of green politics there is a 'materialistic' thesis that our natural resources are limited. Secondly, the pursuit of economic growth remains the principal goal of all capitalist societies and, in that respect, Spain is no different to other societies.

The study now moves on to address another facet of Spain's political culture which has impacted on the environmental movement, namely the country's distinctive territorial arrangements. Section 3.3 examines the specific nature of these

arrangements and the underlying tensions which surround this issue. Section 3.4 will then go on to show how the territorial dimension has impacted on the PESM.

3.2 THE TERRITORIAL DIMENSION

As Conversi states, ‘Two visions of Spain have competed since the beginning of the 19th century’ (1998: 1), one centralist and the other regionalist. An awareness of these competing visions and of the importance which Spaniards attach to their locality is essential to understanding Spanish political culture.

Although the centralist nation-state – as epitomised by Franco’s regime – has lost its hegemony as power has shifted to regional and supranational level (Castells 1997; Pérez Diaz 1998 and Keating 1996), the centralist-nationalist cleavage still divides Spain and impacts on many areas of political life, including political ecology. Sub-section 3.3.1 outlines Spain’s existing institutional arrangements and shows how, over the course of the last 30 years, sub-national government and politics has increased in importance as Spain has evolved into a quasi-federal state. Sub-sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 examine competing visions regarding Spanish identity and nationhood. This analysis provides a necessary background to understanding the different political context within which Spanish PE operates.

3.3.1 *El Estado de las Autonomías* (The State of the Autonomies)

After Franco’s death in 1975, Spain embarked on its transition to democracy, ‘a delicate operation’ (Ross 2000: 123) in which the old regime was gradually dismantled. The road-map for the new democracy was the 1978 Constitution, considered to be ‘a marvel of compromise and consensus’ (Mar-Molinero 1996: 82). Devolution was considered a priority (Pallarès & Keating 2003) because it was clear that the *sine qua non* of the new democratic system was to give Spain’s ‘nationalities’ (as the Constitution refers to the regions which consider themselves nations) the autonomous status that they had been demanding for almost a century.

Figure 3.1 Map of Spain Showing the 17 Autonomous Regions



Source: Luventicus 2: 2010

As a result, Spain has changed from being a highly centralised state (during Franco's dictatorship in 1936-1975) to a country officially designated as *El Estado de las Autonomías* ('The State of the Autonomous Regions'), in recognition of its status as one of Europe's most decentralised countries (Moreno 2001). As commentators emphasise (see Swenden 2006; Pallarès & Keating 2003; Moreno 2002 and Requejo 2005), the 1978 Constitution did not stipulate details of Spain's territorial division. It merely specified how regions could opt for self-government and outlined some of their areas of competence if they opted for this route.

In fact, the Constitution's provisions for autonomy were taken up by all the regions, and what started as an expedient solution to placate the nationalities took on a momentum of its own. As Swenden states, the decentralisation process went further than the original architects envisaged (2006: 21) and by 1983 Spain was officially divided into 17 autonomous regions (see Figure 3.1).

However, the precise relationship between central and regional governments remains undefined and the Constitution has never been revised to reflect these changes which remain provisional in nature. Although the territorial arrangement which evolved has been hailed by many as a 'quasi-federal' or 'asymmetric federation' (Swenden 2006; Aja 1999) and a 'deeply decentralised' state (Moreno 2002), the shortcomings of the present system are undeniable. Vallespín describes it as an 'incomplete federal state' (*2009), given that, although the Spanish regions have greater financial control over their budget than most federal countries, the federal model is still 'in construction' and lacks certain elements. For example, the Senate has never become a chamber for the territorial representation of the different regions, as has often been proposed; the regions have bilateral relations with a 'strong core executive' that dominates policy-making (Chari & Heywood 2009: 45). Consequently, 'the institutional involvement of the Spanish nationalities and regions in statewide decision making is somewhat provisional in character' (Moreno 2002: 404). According to a Catalan academic, the regions' status is so ambiguous that they are not even 'constituent entities' (they are not mentioned in the Constitution) and the central government still retains the upper hand when it comes to tax-raising, law-making and accessing international institutions such as the European Union (Requejo 2005: 82-83). However, the central problem (according to Requejo) is that of 'accommodating the distinct national identities that coexist' within the state (2005: 90). Until this happens, the minority nations will continue to resent the fact that their demands are not being met.

Although many leading Spanish constitutional experts agree that there is considerable ambiguity as to the status of the regions (El País 6/12/2008a), the devolution process has nevertheless resulted in 17 sub-state governments, each with its parliament and numerous regional institutions. The regions 'have come to manage

more than 30% of public spending, [and] employ more than one million civil servants; they [also] implement and monitor more than three thousand laws and norms, many of which come from Brussels' (Noferini et al. 2010: 10). The regions' devolved areas include agriculture, transport, urban planning, social services and tourism, and regional governments are also responsible for the implementation of many other areas of legislation. Environmental laws and regulations are frequently enacted at regional level, though some emanate from central government.

The regions are so securely anchored in their own specific identity that each now has a very distinct culture. Conversi, for example, highlights the fact that each region has its own regional multi-volume encyclopaedia, thus contributing to a 'vast systematization of local knowledge' which contributes towards creating a sense of belonging (1998 :14). The strength of nationalist sentiment which has taken root throughout Spain since the regions were established is a feature of modern Spanish society: more than 25 years since their creation, young adults have 'the least sense of belonging to Spain and the highest level of identification with the region' (Balfour and Quiroga 2007:197).

For some regions, the present level of devolution is satisfactory, but there are others (such as Catalonia) who would like to see further powers and, above all, would like to be recognised as a nation. The unresolvable nature of this issue springs from the impossibility of finding an accommodation between two very different ways of viewing the territorial organisation of the country. For some, Spain is essentially – despite extensive devolution – a unitary state, whereas for others it is, or should be, a pluri-national state. The often quoted Article 2 of the 1978 Constitution outlines the state's legal position as regards the regions, but also demonstrates the inherent ambiguity of the present situation.

The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards; it recognises and guarantees the right to self-government of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed and the solidarity among them all (Spanish Constitution 1978: Article 2).

Article 2 acknowledges a region's right to self-government but explicitly refers to the unity of the Spanish nation-state (rather than acknowledging the concept of Spain as a pluri-national state). The allusion to inter-regional solidarity emphasises that everyone within Spain is required to pull together as one nation, both politically and economically. The principle of inter-regional solidarity is often quoted to oppose nationalists who maintain that a particular resource – water is an important example of this – should 'belong' to a region and serve the needs of the region rather than being commandeered for other parts of Spain.

The Constitution also denies minority nations the status of 'nation', choosing to describe them as 'nationalities'. From an outsider's perspective (bearing in mind that Scotland, for example, has always referred to itself as a nation) it is easy to be unaware of the semiotic difference between the terms 'nation' and 'nationality' but the state's refusal to allow regions to define themselves as 'nations' rankles deeply in some quarters.

Many Spaniards feel that the devolution process has gone far enough, but (see Table 3.8) a sizeable minority (16.6%) would like to see greater powers of self-government or even the option (6.5%) to become an independent country. Although the devolution process has resulted in what many consider to be a plurinational state, a sizeable minority of Spaniards are opposed to the decentralisation of the State (25.3%): they are worried about the break-up of Spain and hostile to the demands of ETA, who have fuelled a backlash against minority nationalisms.

Table 3.8: Question 12 of a CIS survey asking Spaniards how the Spanish state should be structured

| | |
|---|-------|
| We should have a central government and no regional governments | 14.1% |
| Regional governments should have fewer powers than at present | 11.2% |
| We should continue with the present arrangement | 42.3% |
| The regional governments should have greater devolved powers | 16.6% |
| The state should allow the regions self-determination | 6.5% |

Source: *CIS Survey 2829: 2010

In brief, questions as to ‘where the Spanish state should be heading – ‘a federal, regionalised or unitary decentralized state’ (Swenden 2006: 55) – remain contentious and are therefore sidelined. The complications and ambiguities of Spain’s quasi-federal model constitute an apparently indissoluble problem which rests on a number of competing notions of nationalism. As Balfour and Quiroga state, although plurality – ‘the source of innovation, cultural vitality, internal competition’ – could be seen as an advantage, ‘it is a political problem in that this plurality has not been resolved at an institutional level. It has no simple solution in that it is a complex, multilayered problem, embracing state structures, competencies, identities, and cultures. There are no quick fixes or perhaps no fixes at all’ (Balfour & Quiroga 2007: 199). Notwithstanding the imperfections of the arrangement, the new configuration of Spain is so deeply embedded, as Aja states, that the process is irreversible (2001: 234).

The following sub-sections continue the analysis of Spanish nationalism or regionalism but from a different perspective. The clash between the centralists and the regionalists is deeply embedded in Spanish society and politics and therefore needs to be fully appreciated in order to understand how this underlying tension influences policy makers as well as the strategies and actions of individual parties.

3.3.2 *A nation of nations?*

As previously mentioned, Spain is made up of 17 regions. In ten of these³⁴, a sizeable minority (and in the case of Catalonia, a majority) considers their region a ‘nation’.

Minority-nation nationalists in Spain have a range of different aspirations: some regard their region as a distinct nation and demand the right to greater self-determination over its future; others envisage an independent nation-state, a federal state within a confederal state or simply a greater degree of home rule. Regardless of

³⁴ The following regions include a sizeable minority of inhabitants with nationalist aspirations: Andalucía, Aragón, Asturias, the Balearic Islands, the Basque Country, the Canary Islands, Galicia, Navarre and Valencia. A Survey from CIS, the Spanish leading Sociological Research Centre (CIS 2667: 2007), puts only eight regions in the ‘nationalist’ group but this decision is questionable. It could be argued that Aragón and Asturias, included in CIS’s list of regionalist regions (but both with their own language and the former with two regional parties), should be more correctly assigned to the ‘nationalist’ group.

these differences, most of those who define themselves as nationalists want their region to be legally defined as a 'nation'.

Spaniards who insist on regarding Spain as the only 'Nation' within the Spanish state hold a less clear-cut position. Spanish Nationalism has undergone a radical transformation since Franco's dictatorship. The two main parties, PSOE and PP (*Partido Popular*, People's Party), have officially accepted the need to reach an accommodation with the 'historic nationalities' as well as with the nationalist sentiment that has developed in a number of other regions. They have therefore accepted, or in some cases welcomed, the need for devolution. However, there is also a majority consensus to maintain the unity of the nation-state by appealing to the need for solidarity between the regions, a key feature of civic Nationalism. This state-led Nationalism was reformulated as 'patriotic constitutionalism' by PSOE in 1991, after Habermas gave a seminal lecture on the subject when he visited Madrid in that year (Magone 2004: 42 and Pastor Verdú 2007a). Habermas's theory maintains that one can retain loyalty to a region and identify with it as a nation whilst constitutionally opting to retain the *status quo*, or existing nation-state, in the interests of solidarity, cooperation and universal democracy. Both main parties have used decentralisation – a cornerstone of EU policy – as a way of promoting state modernisation, reinforcing democracy and emphasising Spain's break with the previous Francoist centralist regime (Muro & Quiroga 2005). However, both have shown their commitment to the unity of the Spanish nation by refusing to countenance the official use of the word 'nation' to describe a number of different regions.

During the first two years of Zapatero's first mandate (2004-2008), the Socialists appeared to be moving towards a greater recognition of Spain's status as a 'nation of nations' – the party's electoral programme had announced that it envisaged making changes to the Constitution in order to turn the Senate into a chamber of territorial representation (PSOE Election Programme 2004: 60). PSOE sanctioned the reform of several statutes of autonomy (regional constitutions) in the period between 2004-7 and, in his first years of office, Zapatero frequently referred to the notion of a

‘plurinational state’. The term even crept into a PSOE law which was passed in the *Congreso* in 2006, stating that Spain was ‘a plurinational, pluricultural and plurilingual state’ (*El Confidencial 28/09/2006). However, this ‘aberration’ was quickly amended when the same law went through the Senate. Moves towards a formal recognition of Spain’s plurinational status were swiftly stifled by the PSOE which, from 2006 onwards, has reverted to a similar line as the PP (Pastor Verdú 2007b). According to Zapatero (speaking at a formal celebration of 30 years of the Constitution), the Constitution will stay as it is – with all its ambiguities – because there is no consensus as to how to move forward on this issue (El País 06/12/08b).

In sum, the nationalists feel discriminated against and are likely to continue to do so until the Spanish state stops advocating a Nationalism that, according to Muro and Quiroga, contains ‘an underlying element of ethnic Nationalism’ (2005: 23). On the other hand, a majority of Spaniards consider themselves Spaniards first and foremost.

Data from the Spanish Centre for Sociological Research’s study on identity (CIS Survey 2667: 2007) helps to put the ‘nation’ issue into some perspective. When asked whether Spain is a state rather than a nation (see Table 3.9), 34% of Spaniards (22.8% +11.2%) think of Spain as a Nation; even in the Basque Country and Catalonia, a respective 26.8% and 22.7% hold this position. On the other hand, 50.4% of Catalans reject the idea of Spain as a nation, as against 34.3% at statewide level and 38.5% in the Basque Country.

Table 3.9: ‘Do you agree that Spain is a state and not a nation?’

| | Totally Agree % | Agree % | Neutral % | Disagree % | Totally disagree % | Don’t know % |
|----------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| All Spaniards | 8.8 | 25.5 | 12 | 22.8 | 11.2 | 17.7 |
| Basques | 13 | 25.5 | 10 | 16.8 | 10 | 24.7 |
| Catalans | 15.5 | 34.9 | 8.2 | 16.2 | 6.5 | 18.7 |
| Madrid | 8.8 | 21.9 | 8.6 | 27.2 | 15.5 | 18 |

Source: *CIS Survey 2667, Question 23: 2007

The survey demonstrates that regional differences on the question of national identity are less marked than might be anticipated. Table 3.10 below provides further indications as to how respondents feel on the question of Spanish identity.

Table 3.10: Comparative views on nationalist-related issues

| Percentage who strongly agree that: | Catalonia | Basque Country | Madrid | Spain |
|--|-----------|----------------|--------|-------|
| 1. Regions should become independent if this is what their citizens want | 22.5 | 26.3 | 5.1 | 7.7 |
| 2. I identify solely with my region | 14 | 20.8 | 1.7 | 5.3 |
| 3. I do not consider myself Spanish (despite holding a Spanish passport) | 21.3 | 31.2 | 5.3 | 8.5 |
| 4. Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia should have their own 'national' teams for sports if that is what the citizens of these regions want. | 67 | 65.5 | 24.2 | 32.6 |

Source: Based on data in *CIS Survey 2667: 2007

Statement 4 addresses the importance of recognising the legitimacy of minority nations and has strong support, not only in the regions directly affected but also (to a lesser but significant extent) in other regions. Statements 3 and 1 show that between 20%-30% of Catalans and Basques believe in the self-determination of their region and certainly favour a fairly radical pro-independence position, a stance which enjoys less support elsewhere in Spain. The far lower percentage of those who support Statement 2 demonstrates that, amongst Catalans in particular, only a sizeable minority identify solely with Catalonia.³⁵

However, when asked to declare their stance on *españolismo* (Spanish Nationalism), respondents showed a surprising level of attachment to the concept of Spanish Nationalism (see Table 3.11). The CIS survey confirms the prevalence of nationalist sentiment but also demonstrates the persistence of Spanish Nationalism: even the Basque Country includes 14% who identify with Spanish Nationalism (Table 3.11)

³⁵ These figures obviously only provide an approximation and do not take into account a number of respondents who were neither Catalan nor Spanish.

whilst only 20.8% of Basques and 14% of Catalans identify solely with their respective regions (Table 3.10).

Table 3.11: Strength of identification with Spanish Nationalism

| | Basque Country | Catalonia | All of Spain |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Minimal identification | 40% | 31% | 12.9% |
| Maximal identification | 14% | 31% | 54.7% |

Source: Based on data in *CIS Survey 2667: 2007

In an article on non-statewide parties (NSWP), Pallarès and Keating argue that the regionalisms in Spain vary in strength and that ‘large parts of the country are without significant regionalist sentiment’ (2003: 240). However, this analysis is contradicted by other academics who recognise that all the regions are involved in a ‘nation-building process’ and that ‘regionalism is growing ever stronger’ (Lindley, Upward & Wright 2002: 20). In fact, the aforementioned authors’ findings show that trans-regional migration is becoming less and less likely as people increasingly identify with their own region.

Spanish workers with higher education qualifications (the most likely to migrate from one region to another) have a migration probability of only 0.39% (Lindley, Upward & Wright 2002: 20).

Few would doubt that, by and large, a ‘secular, modern and decentralised conception of the Spanish nation’ (Muñoz 2009: 620) has been achieved, and that nationalism bolsters the legitimacy of the central government in that it allows citizens to have a greater voice in the matters that concern them, thus fostering a greater social solidarity. However, this trend also promotes citizens’ closer identification with their region, and hence exacerbates underlying tensions between regions and between the regions and the state. To date, it has proved impossible to reconcile these two competing notions of Spain as a unitary state or as a ‘nation of nations’. This particularly persistent cleavage is one of a number of interconnected cleavages which

are referred to in Spain as ‘The Two Spains’. It is important to consider this concept briefly, given its complexity and its influence on all areas of political life.

3.3.3 *The Two Spains*

The concept of the two Spains – i.e. the division of Spain into two polarised and very antagonistic ideological camps – is a metaphor that became common currency in 19th and 20th century Spain (Benlloch 2006), culminated in the confrontation of these two sides during the Civil War (1936-1939) and lives on in the collective memory to this day. The first ‘Spain’ was Catholic, monarchist, traditionalist, middle-class, conservative, land-owning, centralist and isolationist; the second ‘Spain’ was Republican, anti-traditionalist, left-wing or anarchist, less prosperous, in favour of a decentralised Spain and anxious to become ‘European’.

Nowadays, the dividing lines between the two camps are less clear cut. Nearly all Spaniards are pro-European (and, in fact, the anti-Europeans are more likely to be drawn from those on the left) and the religious question is less important than it was. Nevertheless, most Spaniards align themselves on one side or other of the divide, and an awareness of this ideological undercurrent is essential to understanding Spanish politics.

Domestic political and social policies continue to play out the tussle between the two Spains, depending on which of the two majoritarian³⁶ parties, the socialists (PSOE) or the People’s Party (PP), is in government. Since 2004, when it won the elections³⁷, the PSOE government has further decentralised Spain by devolving more powers to the regions, has introduced a number of progressive social policies (for example, there has been gender parity in the Cabinet since 2004), and has introduced the 2007 Historical Memory Act, a law finally recognising the need to honour the Republican soldiers killed during the Spanish Civil War. Such measures have been opposed by

³⁶ Despite an electoral system based on proportional representation, the Spanish two-party system is more firmly embedded than the UK’s. In the 2008 general election, PSOE and PP obtained, between them, over 84% of the votes and 92% of the seats, slightly up from the previous election, which in turn shows an increasing bipolarisation on earlier elections. In contrast, UK figures for the 2005 general election show the Conservatives and Labour obtaining 70% of the votes and 87.5% of the seats (whilst in 2010 they obtained 65% of the votes and 87.7% of the seats).

³⁷ PSOE won the general election again in 2008

the PP as unnecessarily stirring up antagonisms from the past. Although similar ideological cleavages are present in all democracies, in Spain the concept of the two Spains is particularly contentious because the subject was avoided until recently by tacit consensus and was held to have diminished greatly in importance (Torcal, Gunther & Montero 2002:82). However, it is implicitly or explicitly present in many debates, and has been the subject of many historical analyses (for example, Juliá Díaz 2004). Since PSOE came to power in 2004 and passed a number of controversial laws, the notion of the two Spains has risen to the fore once again.

Although a number of cleavages divide Spanish society – attitudes to religion, the monarchy, left-right and nationalism – and it is possible to adopt a different position on each issue, in practice Spaniards generally align themselves either with ‘reactionary’ or ‘progressive’ Spain, thus perpetuating the polarisation of Spanish politics. The exception to this rule are some nationalist parties, which combine an economically conservative, Catholic position with a commitment to nationalism. However, these parties³⁸ focus exclusively on their own nation’s political culture and are therefore less interested in considering their positions with respect to the Two Spains.

3.4 THE TERRITORIAL DIMENSION AS A KEY FACTOR WITHIN THE SPANISH PESM

This thesis argues that the territorial dimension is key to understanding the Spanish Greens’ trajectory. The polarisation of Spanish society into centralists and nationalists is replicated within the Greens, but complicated by the fact that, ideologically, the Greens unequivocally place themselves in the ‘progressive’ camp with regard to the Two Spains. However, their position as regards nationalism straddles both sides of the divide. Whilst supporting decentralisation and government that is closer to the people, many Green leaders – backed by the European Green Party (EGP) and its precursors – believe that Spain needs to have an effective statewide Green party. Any attempts to bring this about have resulted in a centrally organised party which, *ipso facto*, has alienated many of the regional parties and has

³⁸ The two main parties that represent this position are CiU, the Catalan Convergence and Union party, which has governed Catalonia more than any other party and PNV, the Basque Nationalist Party, which is also the dominant political party in the Basque Country.

led to accusations that the party is authoritarian and reactionary in its *modus operandi*.

Until now, the Greens' 'solution' to the regional quandary has evolved organically as the original Green party gradually gave way to a series of regional parties; however, rather than working from the premise that these regional parties could form the basis for a loose confederation of Greens, many of the Greens' activists and leaders continue to aspire to the ideal of a single, statewide Green party.

The next section will examine in more detail the double-edged impact of the territorial dimension on the Spanish Greens.

3.4.1 Territorial politics as a constraining factor for the Spanish Greens

This section examines a number of issues related to nationalism which have had, or continue to have, a negative impact on the Spanish Greens. The besetting problem for the Spanish Greens is undeniably the hostile factionalism that exists within this group of parties, and there is no doubt that the nationalist issue led to the initial fragmentation of LV. Less than a year after the party was formed, the main Catalan faction seceded from the party: the key disagreement was a difference of opinion as to whether to set up a confederation or federation of Green parties. The undercurrent of this semantic argument originated in the sense of grievance harboured by Catalan Greens (many of whom were nationalists) who perceived the Spanish Greens as wanting to assume control over the Catalan party. Their view was that the Catalan Greens should be autonomous as they were representing a nation rather than a Spanish region. The Spanish Greens, wittingly or unwittingly, reflected the views of most Spaniards on Catalonia: they viewed the Catalans as being haughty and absurdly hostile to Spain. In this atmosphere, it was easy for emotions to run high. This in turn led to recriminations, and an antagonism which led the Catalans to withdraw from LV (Interviews with a number of party leaders: 1996, 2005, 2007).

With hindsight, it is clear that greater sympathy with the Catalan's viewpoint in the early days, followed by proper deliberation and cooperation, might have led to the articulation of a viable confederation, but in the Spain of 1984 the demands made by

Spain's minority nations were less understood, and certainly did not have the legitimacy which they have by now acquired amongst Spanish 'progressives'. The majority of the Green party favoured the creation of a centrally controlled party, largely because they lacked the resources to establish grassroots operations throughout Spain (Interview with Garrido 2005). At that time the statewide Green party model also seemed the obvious choice, given that LV aimed to establish themselves as the Spanish counterparts of Green parties in other countries. In this respect, they were following the advice of the European Green Coordination (EGC), an early precursor of the EGP. One of the biggest grudges which the Catalan greens bore towards the 'Spanish' greens was the fact that, during those early years, the EGC would not recognise the Catalan Green party because it only 'allowed' one green party per 'nation' to join the alliance of Green parties³⁹. This was very galling to Catalan sensibilities, as was the 'gloating attitude' of the Spanish Greens (Interview with Catalan Green leader 03/12/07).

However, the fragmentation was not limited to a secessionist Catalan group. Libertarian Spanish Greens from many different regions were disinclined to accept control from a centrally controlled party. Tensions began to arise between the party elite at the centre and the various regional parties which increasingly clustered around a key regional leader or leaders, thus giving rise to the creation of separate fiefdoms which persist to this day.

By 1993, LV acknowledged the reality of its position – the fact that the party was made up of disparate regional factions – and constituted itself into a confederation of regional Green parties, *La Confederación de los Verdes* (CLV). However, this decision led to the emergence of another Green party, LVGP (*Los Verdes-Grupo Verde*, The Greens-Green Group) which was created to oppose the fragmentation of Spain's Greens. It strongly defended the idea of a statewide party, thus illustrating the centralist-nationalist cleavage at the heart of Spanish politics. The following extract,

³⁹ In the early days of the Green parties, the different European Green parties formed various unifying associations or federations. Between 1984-1993 they had a loose alliance, the EGC. In 1993 they became the European Federation of Green Parties (EFGP) and, in 2004, they reconstituted themselves as the European Green Party (EGP) (EGP Website 2011).

written by the leader of LVGV, gives an insight into the centralist-nationalist division within the Greens on this issue.

[LVGV] is a party of national scope in Spain, but there are other regional Green parties that do not agree with the existence of a national party. They say ... that its regions are the true nations and that the Spanish State is a supranational structure. We do not participate in discussions as to whether or not the regions are states because the nationalist argument is often hollow. It is purely rhetorical [...] We feel that people should be free to decide their own destiny ... But as long as Spain is a State, our structure ought to have the scope of the State so that we can offer alternative solutions to its problems (Cabal 1997).

Despite the increasing regionalisation of politics (Swenden & Maddens 2009: 5), and the fact that there are now other models of successful Green ‘regional’ parties (such as, for example, the Scottish Greens or the Swiss Greens, who are a confederation of independent parties), path dependency⁴⁰ appears to have prevented the Spanish Greens from finding a solution that combines regional diversity and a single political brand at state level. Enmities and mistrust generated in a previous period have left the Spanish Greens trapped in their past history and unable to reach an accommodation. However, if one looks beyond parties to other Spanish green actors there are examples of formerly factionalised groups which are now working effectively within a confederation. The best example of this is Spain’s largest EMO, *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA). EA is an excellent working model of a confederation that has proved effective in preserving the autonomy of regional groups whilst creating a statewide identity.

There is lack of consensus within the Spanish Greens as to which strategy to pursue with regards to party organisation. Whilst some are decidedly in favour of creating a single party (regardless of whether it is confederal or federal), a number of the regional parties are unwilling to choose a path which prevents them from having complete autonomy as regards electoral alliances they want to make at regional level. This issue will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

⁴⁰ As stated in Chapter 2, ‘path dependency’ refers to the theory that parties or organisations are frequently locked into ‘processes that are ... unable to shake free of their history’ (David 2000: 19).

A second constraining factor for the Greens, and one that is also linked to the nationalist issue, is party competition. As previously mentioned, nationalism is no longer the preserve of the historic nationalities but has spread significantly to about 10 regions, which now have – to a greater or lesser extent – at least one (sometimes more) nationalist party, many of which are left-of-centre. As such, these parties allow ‘ecologists’ or sympathisers of political ecology who are disaffected with the main statewide parties to choose a party that promotes values which appear to be fairly similar to the Greens’. As Holliday states, ‘these parties, which naturally and uniformly base their campaigns on all forms of regional promotion and protection, are often explicitly defensive of the regional environment’ (Holliday 1997: 170). In some regions, therefore, the Greens have to compete with a more established, broader-based nationalist (and more electable) party. Galicia and Aragón, to cite a couple of examples, each have a left-wing nationalist party (the BNG⁴¹ and CHA⁴² respectively). Consequently, despite the high profile accorded to environmental concerns in both regions⁴³, both regions have an unexpectedly weak Green party.

This section has demonstrated that the territorial aspect of Spanish politics has been a key factor contributing to the weakness of the Spanish Greens. In addition to hindering the coordination that would be necessary to sustain an effective Green Confederation, and contributing to the proliferation of Green parties, the presence of nationalist parties has further undermined the Greens’ possibility of securing the votes of environmentally-conscious voters.

Having dwelt on the more problematic aspects concerning regionalism and its impact on the Spanish Greens, the following section looks at the opportunity afforded by sub-state government and suggests that this is the *locus* of green politics.

⁴¹ The Bloque Nacionalista Galego (Galician Nationalist Bloc)

⁴² The Chunta Aragonesista (The Aragonese Union)

⁴³ Galicia is routinely affected by the large number of forest fires which rage through the region each summer and in 2002 the coasts of Galicia suffered a terrible environmental disaster as a result of a vast oil spill from an oil tanker, the Prestige, which sank off the coast of Galicia. In Aragón, water and river transfers have been a hugely contested and debated issue

3.4.2 The regional dimension: key to understanding 'Los Verdes'

As has been made clear, there is no longer a party called *Los Verdes*, although a statewide party going by this name existed between 1984 and 1993. At present, there are three Green parties with a statewide remit. Most of the regional Green parties (sometimes there are two or three Green parties in each region) belong, or are allied, to one of these three groups but the interregional differences between parties within the same federation are considerable. Some of the parties always stand on an 'independent'⁴⁴ ticket whereas others form an electoral alliance with IU or a nationalist party.

In sum, whilst there is no doubt that Spain lacks a Green party in any way comparable to Europe's emblematic Green parties – i.e. there is no single, symbolic 'party' that unites 'Greens' throughout the country – this does not mean that political ecology should be discounted as being irrelevant to party politics. If we interpret the Greens' collective trajectory from a regional perspective then the achievements of the smaller parties which make up the Spanish Greens deserve greater recognition. Firstly, these parties have been in operation for over 25 years and during that time, whilst routinely failing to win any elections unless they are part of a coalition, they have usually been the fourth or fifth most voted party in their respective district, and well ahead of other single issue or protest parties. Their survival and support (even if slight) demonstrates that they are not just a conjunctural phenomenon but represent a deep-seated if minority desire for structural and institutional change.

But above all, regional and local Green parties have at times enjoyed a higher profile than that outlined above. As a result of the different opportunities available at regional level, in a small number of cases the Greens have featured in coalition governments where they have been able to introduce policy changes and gain access to government (examples of Green coalitions will be given in Chapters 4-6).

However, despite the importance of sub-national politics in a quasi-federal country such as Spain, academic literature on the Greens neglects the importance of the

⁴⁴ 'Independent Green votes/parties are those which are not allied to any other party, so that each vote/member is specifically 'Green'.

regional and local arena and largely restricts itself to measuring the performance of Green parties at statewide level. For example, in a comparative study of European Greens, Müller-Rommel defines a Green party ‘as successful if its degree of concentration in national government is above three percent’ (1994a: 13).

In a later work, Müller-Rommel and Poguntke systematically compare Green parties according to how many ‘thresholds’ they have crossed. They equate ‘successful’ Green parties as those which have passed the ‘representation’ and ‘relevance’ thresholds at national level (2002:3). Spain is cited in this study⁴⁵ as one of five countries that fails to pass either of these thresholds. Although Müller-Rommel recognises that federal structures can help Green parties achieve electoral success (1994b: 149), ultimate ‘success’ continues to be measured by achieving representation in the national parliament.

Müller-Rommel and Poguntke’s conclusions can be criticised on two counts. Firstly, their study is factually incorrect in its findings that there was no Green party in the Spanish national parliament in 2002 because ICV – which has defined itself as an ecosocialist party since 1999 – held a seat in the *Congreso* at that time. The failure to include them is based on an imperfect knowledge of the Spanish Greens thus demonstrating that, because they were unaware of a regional Green party, they failed to spot its presence in the national parliament.

Secondly, the shortcomings of Müller-Rommel and Poguntke’s position are evident: Europe’s regions and minority nations have gained immeasurably in importance as has the importance of regional government and the growing interest of scholars in this area of politics (Swenden & Maddens 2009; Hopkin 2009). Whilst this trend is worldwide and is part of the ‘glocalisation’ phenomenon (Swenden 2006:1), it is particularly pronounced in the case of Spain, and the State of the Autonomies’ arrangement has led to the country’s inclusion in many studies relating to sub-nationalism. These studies have emphasised the existence of multilevel government and co-existing party systems (Pallarés & Keating 2003) within Spain and have also

⁴⁵ The other countries are: the United Kingdom, Norway, Portugal and Denmark

emphasised the influence that territorial politics can have on statewide politics. It is therefore surprising to see scholars writing about Green politics – given Green politics’ belief in decentralisation – whilst adhering to a stance which is closer to the statewide perspective traditionally adopted by classic literature on political parties.

As well as contesting the premise that a party’s importance can only be measured at statewide level, there are undoubtedly a number of empirical reasons which support the idea that the regional arena is the ideal *locus* of green party politics in Spain. Firstly, the meso-government level has ‘produced multiple arenas for political competition, strategic opportunities for political actors, and possibilities for electors to use their votes tactically’ (Pallarès & Keating 2003: 239). In other words, the small regional Green parties are best placed to find themselves a political space within a regional party system, and one that increases their possibilities of election (via seeking electoral alliances), if that is the line that the regional party activists want to pursue. In addition to these strategic reasons, there are further crucial reasons for stressing the importance of regional politics. The regional tier of government is responsible for the implementation, and indeed enactment, of many policies that impact on the lives of that region’s inhabitants: the environment, transport, housing and agriculture, to name but a few. As chapters 4-6 will demonstrate, the Greens and the wider PESM have been able to seize opportunities afforded to them by a smaller political arena to implement policy changes in some of these areas.

The regional tier of government also provides greater electoral opportunities to a smaller party such as the Greens because the threshold of representation is lower. Regional elections use the same voting districts as the general elections but return three or four times more deputies per province, which allows for greater proportionality. However, many regions set a 5% threshold for the regional elections (some set only 3%) and, given the Greens’ low level of support, it has so far proved impossible for an independent Green candidate to win a seat in the regional elections. Nevertheless, the possibility of winning a seat in a regional parliament is a more feasible goal for a Green party to aspire to. For example, a Green could be elected for

the province of Seville⁴⁶ if they got just over 5.5% of the vote. In order to win a seat for Seville in a general election, the Greens would have to obtain about 7.6% of the vote.

Regional parliaments also offer greater opportunities to a smaller party due to the fact that the regional elections are less dominated by the two main parties than in the statewide elections, where PSOE and PP concentrate more than 75% of the votes and 80% of the seats. Admittedly, even at regional level, the two leading parties have tended to govern in most of the autonomous regions. Figures for 2007 showed PSOE and PP each governing in eight regions whilst only one region, the Basque Country, was governed by neither of these parties (El Pais 2007 Election Special); however, PSOE only had an absolute majority in three regions whilst PP had an absolute majority in five regions. In eight regions, therefore, the government consisted of a coalition, sometimes of just two parties, but in some cases including three or more parties, including the Greens.

3.5 Conclusion

The present chapter has outlined a number of Spain-specific factors which have influenced the trajectory of the country's PESM and its Green parties. It has shown that Spaniards are not less postmaterialistic than other West European countries, are similarly concerned about the environment, and that the presumption that the country is an environmental laggard is based on a value judgement that is questionable. The chapter has provided explanations which allow for a more accurate interpretation of the state of political ecology in Spain. The chapter argued further that Spanish PE needs to be judged on its own merits rather than making (usually) unfavourable comparisons with other countries. Finally, the chapter demonstrated that a study of *Los Verdes* must start from the realisation that the territorial dimension has been instrumental in the fragmentation of this group of parties, a fragmentation which could, theoretically, be turned to the advantage of LV. The following chapter provides an in-depth analysis of Spanish PE, and demonstrates that, contrary to popular perception, ecologism is a well-established movement in Spain.

⁴⁶ In the Andalusian regional parliament, there are 18 deputies representing Seville.

CHAPTER 4 POLITICAL ECOLOGY IN SPAIN

The present chapter provides an understanding of what Monica Frassoni, co-president of the European Green Party (EGP), has called ‘a very various and complicated Green world’ (Greens/EFA Media 2010). The first section looks at the origins and early years of ecologism in Spain while Sections 4.2 and 4.3 respectively provide an overview of the Spanish Greens and the PESM after 1983. The complexity of Spanish ecologism deserves to be examined in some detail in order to build up a more accurate picture of this largely neglected phenomenon. The present account seeks to correct the commonly-held view regarding Spain’s lack of interest in PE and shows, instead, that ecologism is a well-established political movement in Spain.

4.1 THE ORIGINS OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY IN SPAIN: 1970-1986

Ecologism started in Spain towards the end of the 1960s⁴⁷, in the latter days of Franco’s dictatorship, when opposition to the regime was growing exponentially. The movement was made up of small environmental groups, some arising out of neighbourhood associations, but most set up to mobilise opposition to the regime over a range of local problems. There was very limited statewide coordination in the

⁴⁷ However, as Fernández demonstrates, the notion of resource depletion, or the confrontation between Economics and Ecology, is centuries old. He cites a 1679 document outlining the complaints of some Catalan fishermen against the owners of ‘modern’ drift-net fishing-boats. These used fine mesh and caught a large number of very young fishes, thus dangerously reducing fish stocks (1999: pp. 13-43).

More recently, the last 20 years of the 19th century witnessed a number of movements that were the precursors of modern ecologism: the 50 years preceding the Spanish civil war (1936-1939) saw a growing interest in conservationism and a raft of measures introduced to protect Spain’s natural environment (Ramos Gorostiza 2006). Concurrently, there was a liberal impulse, largely driven by the ideas outlined by a progressive educational movement called the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (The Free Institute of Education), which emphasised the positive aspects of the countryside to urban dwellers and also encouraged the rural population to value their surroundings; finally, the anarchist movement was particularly vigorous in Spain during this period and advocated what Masjuan Bracons (2000) calls ‘human ecology’. By this, he is referring to a set of beliefs which included concern for overpopulation, a belief in naturism and vegetarianism and a belief in counteracting the negative effects of industrialisation by creating communities linked to the land: garden cities in urban areas, and collective farming in rural areas.

early days, a pattern that has marked Spain's PESM and affected its subsequent development.

The dictatorship which lasted until the end of 1975 and the country's ensuing transition to democracy also influenced the early days of the PESM. Franco's dictatorship is seen as a 35 year period which 'anaesthetised' civil society (Ramos Gorostiza 2006) and severed pre-existing links with the past, including a number of movements that appear to have clear connections with ecologism. Spanish ecologists stress their isolation from the 'outside world' during that period and even, for example, their disconnection from the uprisings in Prague or Paris (Varillas and da Cruz 1981: 8)

However, when the Club of Rome's report, *The Limits to Growth*, was published in 1972, a translated version was available that same year in Spain and attracted considerable interest. Clearly, the interest in environmental questions elsewhere had also begun to resonate in Spain. In the late 1960s the Franco regime began to accord environmental questions a limited attention (Ramos Gorostiza 2006: 123-125) and introduced a few laws relating to the protection of natural resources. The first environmental government organisations (ICONA and CIAMA⁴⁸) were created in 1971 largely, according to Ramos Gorostiza (2006), in order to demonstrate Spain's legitimacy at the UN's 1972 Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. In fact, the regime prioritised a developmentalist approach that capitalised on low wages and ignored health and safety concerns in a drive to attract inward investment (Recio 1992 :163).

Attempts to set up a state-wide environmental movement organisation (EMO) occurred at around the same time. AEORMA (1970-1975)⁴⁹ was the first statewide, contestatory EMO (largely based in Madrid). As well as mounting a big campaign in defence of the threatened capercaillie, it also took a clear anti-nuclear power and

⁴⁸ ICONA was the *Instituto Nacional para la Conservación de la Naturaleza* (National Institute for Nature Conservation) and CIAMA stands for the *Comisión Interministerial para la Adecuación del Medio Ambiente* (Inter-Ministerial Committee to Ensure Environmental Standards)

⁴⁹ *Asociación Española para la Ordenación del Territorio y el Medio Ambiente* (The Spanish Association for Land Use and the Environment)

anti-motorways stance (Fernández 1999: 52). Its existence encouraged the creation of a large number of local and regional movements and in 1974 the first gathering of these movements took place in Navarre⁵⁰.

A few international NGOs such as ADENA/WWF⁵¹, Friends of the Earth (FOE) and Greenpeace were established in Spain during these early years (in 1968, 1979 and 1984 respectively). However, these ‘professional’ ENGOs focused exclusively on environmental matters and were not part of the PESM, with its wider social and political remit.

Early attempts to create a strong, statewide movement foundered: statewide movements were short-lived and lacked grassroots support. This failure was hardly surprising. The importance of the regional dimension made it more likely that ecologists would continue to identify with regional movements. Furthermore, the movement rejected the compromise which a strong central organisation would require, was viscerally libertarian, predominantly left-wing, closely connected to pacifist and feminist movements, in favour of a pluri-national and federal Spain and, above all, linked to the struggle for democracy (Ramos Gorostiza 2006: 114; Varillas 1992; Jiménez 2005).

After Franco’s death in 1975, local and regional groups proliferated but failed to come together. AEORMA ceased to exist in 1975, was replaced by another organisation which only lasted a few months, and then by AEDENAT (*Asociación Ecologista para la Defensa de la Naturaleza*, The Environmental Association for the Defence of Nature), which was created in 1976. However, these state-wide EMOs

⁵⁰ The conference was sanctioned by the dictatorship which even published the conference’s details in the National Movement’s official magazine (the National Movement was Franco’s official ‘party’ or ideological club).

This small detail highlights the ambiguous position long occupied by political ecology: despite its ‘radical’ ideology, in practice PE often allies with environmentalists of a more conservationist hue. As the above example shows, this compromise can lead to the activities of a progressive organisation being given coverage in a magazine which promotes a repressive status quo; this, in turn, leads to political ecologists being regarded with a certain degree of mistrust, a situation which has persisted to this day (and which also pertains in other countries).

⁵¹ Adena was ‘mainly known as trying to protect nature without daring to confront and attack those who are destroying it’ (*Varillas 1977)

were organised from the centre and were therefore ignored by the many local groups and associations. It is estimated that there were around 500 different groups in the early 1980s (Varillas 1980) but, given that the country had only just emerged from a 40 year repressive regime, it is unsurprising that the movements were loath to give up their autonomy. Furthermore, the suppression of civil society and the social mobilisation which exploded in the final years of the regime went hand in hand with abundant idealism but no experience as to how to create an effective organisation (Recio 1992: 168). An activist from the early days describes the movement:

About 30 groups and organisations were there, and there was everything: ornithologists, anarchists, communists, anti-nuclear activists, farm-workers and country folk, intellectuals, machos, feminists, those who were in favour of violence and those who opposed it, pacifists ... Sheer physical exhaustion finally led to the statutes being passed. (Varillas 1985, quoted in *Fernández 1999: 61)

Nonetheless, despite its apparently fissiparous nature, the PESM achieved a few notable successes. Firstly, mobilisation against Spain's nuclear power programme successfully halted the planned expansion of this programme. The first three nuclear power stations had opened in 1968, 1971 and 1972. By 1978, when the National Energy Plan was introduced, seven more were already under construction, and the new plan proposed to build many more (37 altogether). The level of opposition to nuclear power – the campaign was the centrepiece of the ecologist movement from 1973-1983 – led the new PSOE government in 1982 to announce a moratorium on building any more nuclear power stations.⁵² The PESM also influenced policy on numerous conservation issues by mobilising public support – some of these will be looked at in subsequent chapters on Andalucía and Catalonia.

However, attempts to unify the ecologist movement led only to periodic meetings and the drafting of successive manifestos. The 1978 Daimiel Manifesto, drawn up at such a gathering (see Appendix B), demonstrates that the core tenets of PE were clearly in place. The document lists 12 points which coincide substantially with the 'four pillars or principles of Green politics', as set out later in the German Greens'

⁵² Spain has consequently never had more than 9 nuclear reactors in operation.

1983 programme: ecological responsibility, grassroots democracy, social justice and non-violence (Carter 2001: 49). The only ‘problem’ was that the movement could not decide on how to operationalise their ideas.

As 1982 drew nearer, ecologists began to mark time in anticipation of PSOE’s electoral victory, which augured well for the future of environmentalism in Spain. PSOE had promised to introduce substantial changes if they won the 1982 election: one of their pledges was to pull Spain out of NATO⁵³.

Once in power, PSOE largely showed its disregard for environmental concerns that clashed with the need to promote economic prosperity and create jobs⁵⁴. The Socialist’s dismissive attitude towards environmental matters is well documented (La Calle Domínguez 2001; Bigas 1992) and most of the reforms anticipated by ecologists were not to take place, although the prospect of such reforms had persuaded many ecologists to join the new socialist administration (Jiménez 2005: 71).

Once it became evident that PSOE would not advance the ecologists’ cause, a subgroup within the movement was persuaded of the need to establish a Spanish Green party, spurred on by the electoral success of *die Grünen*, who in March 1983 won 27 seats in the German *Bundestag*. In May of the same year, at an environmental film festival in Tenerife, *die Grünen*’s leader, Petra Kelly, persuaded a group of Spanish ecologists to sign a manifesto stating their intention to found a Green party. Her reasons were that Spain needed a Green party so that it could pursue a common strategy with other European Green parties, namely to fight against salient problems such as radioactive waste, nuclear energy and the NATO alliance (Cabal 1996: 22).

Ecologists interested in setting up a party, like their counterparts elsewhere, felt that the time had come to fight the political system from the inside. However, the project

⁵³ Spain joined NATO in 1981 when, despite much popular opposition, the Spanish parliament voted in favour of the decision. On this occasion, PSOE – along with the communist party – voted against the motion.

⁵⁴ However, it honoured its promise to scale down the nuclear industry

was greeted with hostility by most ecologists, either because they espoused anarchist anti-party values, distrusted the motivation of aspiring Green politicians or because they were already affiliated or loyal to another party. It must be borne in mind that, just as some progressives in other countries were growing disillusioned with their countries' main parties and were turning to the Greens as something new and fresh, Spain was coming out of the transition and progressive voters continued to place some hope in PSOE (Valencia Sáiz 2009).

Nevertheless, despite the disapproval of most ecologists, a preliminary meeting was held at the end of 1983 in Seville to set up the Spanish Green party, *Los Verdes* (LV)⁵⁵.

Before moving on to examine the Spanish Greens, this section will briefly⁵⁶ provide some background to the NATO issue, given that the opposition movement it spawned provided a starting point for both LV and IU, both founded around this time and issue.

When PSOE first came to power in 1982 it declared its intention to hold a referendum to decide on Spain's continuing membership of NATO. Once in power, PSOE gradually shifted its position and mounted a strong campaign calling for a 'yes' vote. Opposition was fierce, and was led by a broad social movement that included the PCE (*Partido Comunista de España*, Spanish Communist Party), some left-wing nationalist parties, ecologists and pacifists. In spite of this, the decision to remain within NATO carried the day, with 52.5% voting in favour (Vallés et al. 1986: 308).

The NATO question, which irrefutably showed that PSOE was not the harbinger of progressive politics, was instrumental in leading the PCE to found IU (United Left), a coalition party that included members of the anti-NATO movement, left-wing nationalists and smaller alternative left parties. Although LV had been part of the

⁵⁵ By 1983, the UK's Ecology Party - the first Green party in Europe - had been in existence for ten years, whereas the French Greens, *Les Verts*, were only founded in 1982

⁵⁶ A detailed account of the NATO referendum is provided by Vallés et al. 1986

social movement surrounding the anti-NATO campaign, they declined to join IU, fearing that this far more established party would absorb the Greens. Consequently, LV's electoral debut in the 1987 municipal elections took place at the same time as IU's: LV therefore found itself competing for votes with another alternative left party, one that symbolised the anti-Nato struggle and, furthermore, could count on the organisational structure and resources of the PCE.

4.2 THE SPANISH GREENS 1983-2010

The following section follows the trajectory of the Spanish Greens. The first two sub-sections provide a diachronic account which shows how and why LV fragmented into increasingly numerous parties, analyses their electoral performance and highlights the various strategies adopted by this group of parties over the years.

The third subsection focuses on a number of key dimensions that have constrained the Greens' attempts to establish a 'successful' party.

4.2.1 The Early Years (1984-1993):

LV was largely modelled on *die Grünen* and shared all of the principles and many characteristics common to Green parties elsewhere. There was, for example, a belief in participatory democracy, a non-hierarchical leadership structure and the insistence on being a non-party party (Espinoza 1995: 120). However, one of the central barriers facing LV from the outset, namely the presence of 'rogue' Green parties, was instrumental in preventing the Greens from consolidating their presence in the early years. These 'rogue parties' were clearly not part of the PE movement and their principles and organisation did not conform to Green party norms. Table 4.1 lists the first Spanish Green parties and indicates the rogue parties with an 'R'.

Table 4.1: First Green Parties in Spain

| Year founded | Name | Acronym | English equivalent |
|--------------|---|-----------|---|
| 1977 | <i>Partido Ecológico Español</i> | PEE (R) | Spanish Ecology Party |
| 1982 | <i>Vértice Español de Reivindicación del Desarrollo Ecológico</i> | VERDE (R) | Spanish Vertex for the Demand for Environmental Development |
| 1983 | <i>Alternativa Verda – Moviment Ecologista de Catalunya</i> | AV-MEC | Green Alternative – Catalan Ecology Movement |
| 1984 | <i>Los Verdes</i> | LV | The Greens |
| 1987 | <i>Los Verdes Ecologistas</i> | LVE (R) | The Green Ecologists |

Sources: MIR 2010 and Lozano 2010

PEE was a very short-lived (it lasted one year), right-wing, ‘two-man Green party’ (Fernández 1999: 56); it is only worth mentioning because its right-wing characteristics contributed to a confusion of the Greens’ ideological positioning; Spain’s second Green party, VERDE, ostensibly espoused some Green issues, but was generally held to be idiosyncratic, conservationist and conservative (El País 15/06/1989), with a *raison d’être* based around an interest in naturopathy⁵⁷ (Baras 1992: Cabal 1996). Others have described it as a reactionary party whose leaders were in favour of nuclear power and bull-fighting (Recio 1992).

The third Green party to register itself officially was *Alternativa Verda* (AV), a Catalan party that was the Catalan counterpart of the soon to be founded Spanish LV. Although AV was initially a signatory to the creation of LV, its nationalist stance led to its secession from LV almost immediately.

In addition to VERDE, another ‘rogue’ party, LVE, was created in 1987. This party was part of a sect called Silo (Cabal 1996) although other reliable sources claim that it was funded by PSOE to split the Green vote (Recio 1992).

⁵⁷ The activity of VERDE is harder to fathom, and it is impossible to obtain a satisfactory account of this party, led by the prosperous editor of successive newspapers who enlisted friends and family into his political project. The party clearly had the funding to present itself exactly where other green parties were standing. VERDE ceased to exist when its founder died in 1991.

Over and above the usual problems faced by Green parties (see Kitschelt 1989 on the Belgian Greens), LV faced two additional problems during the early years: the first was the fact that the Green message, accompanied by a *verde* or *ecologista* label, was tarnished from the outset. Surveys at the time showed that voters could not distinguish between the different Green parties (El Pais 09/06/1989) and this undoubtedly prevented the Greens from establishing a distinctive political space. Voter confusion was further exacerbated by the ‘real’ Greens’ propensity to change their names slightly from one election to the next, to reflect changes of strategy or realignments⁵⁸. The second major problem facing LV was the fact that their centralist edifice lasted only a few months before factionalism led to a few groups breaking away.

Whilst the problems outlined above prevented the consolidation of a single Green party, a further significant factor constrained LV’s chances of creating a successful party, namely IU. As party literature has shown – in particular Kitschelt’s left libertarian thesis (1988) but also Richardson and Rootes (1995) – the rules of party competition militate against the existence of two ‘alternative left’ parties such as LV and IU. Furthermore, the Greens were also competing for votes with a number of nationalist, left-wing parties whose programme also demonstrated a similar commitment to social and environmental issues⁵⁹.

A further problem that arose during this first period relates to internal conflicts caused by personal rivalries, a common problem in small, unsuccessful parties, as Kitschelt states, particularly parties that have too many ideologues (1989: 402). Greens from this early period refer to the numerous, heated arguments which dominated local and regional meetings, leading many frustrated activists to pull out.

⁵⁸ This study has, in many instances, ignored or simplified all the slight variations in nomenclature as they are very confusing and of little interest except insofar as they reflect a lack of awareness of the electorate’s need to identify with a particular party

⁵⁹ Examples of these parties are *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC, the Catalan Republican Left), *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* (BNG, the Galician Nationalist Bloc), *Euskadiko Ezquerria* (EE, Left of the Basque Country), and *Chunta Aragonesista* (CHA, Aragonese Union).

Commentators during these early years (and since) routinely stated that the leaders of the party were not up to the task (Barcelò 1994; Rodríguez Barreda 2009). Pastor and López de Uralde, spokespersons for Greenpeace Spain at the time, referred to LV as 'a host of divided Green parties, led sometimes by opportunists or groups with dubious Green credentials' which 'caused confusion amongst voters' (*Pastor and López de Uralde 1993). Green leaders, on the other hand, complained about the shortage of activists (Garrido interview: 2006).

The problems outlined above resulted in poor election results at every level of government during these first years. These results are analysed below.

European Parliament and General Elections:

The results for the European and general elections (1987 and 1989), listed in Appendix C, illustrate the fragmentation of the Greens in these early years. LV and AV's inability to present a joint list, coupled with the existence of the two rogue parties, led to four different green parties standing in the 1989 European Parliament (EP) elections. The aggregated 'Green' vote totalled 2.73% which, under Spanish electoral rules for the EP, would have secured the Greens a seat (they only needed about 1.5% of the vote to win a seat). EP elections in Spain are very favourable to small, state-wide parties because there is only one district - the whole country - and no minimum threshold. This fact is frequently ignored by Greens when they complain that the system of proportional representation in Spain is highly unfavourable to small, state-wide parties.⁶⁰

In the 1989 general election, later that year, LV's results again failed to meet expectations. Two leading figures in the ecology movement, Humberto da Cruz (founder of the Spanish Friends of the Earth) and the well-known economist, Martínez Alier, headed the lists for LV's two most winnable districts, Madrid and Barcelona. Despite surveys predicting that both of these candidates would win a seat,

⁶⁰ In the 1989 EP elections, a small Basque nationalist left-wing party, *Euskadiko Ezquerria* (EE), obtained 1.83% of the vote and consequently got one seat in the European Parliament where it joined the Rainbow Group (including Greens and left-wing regionalist parties). During the election campaigns, *Los Verdes* were hopeful of forming a coalition with EE, but the latter rejected the proposal.

da Cruz only managed to get 1.14% of the vote, nowhere near the 3% threshold he needed to win a seat, and even the aggregated Green vote in his district failed to reach 3% (see Appendix C for a table showing the disaggregated Green vote for Madrid).

Although these results were disappointing, the 1989 results represent the best general election results the Greens have ever had when standing independently. Undoubtedly the Chernobyl disaster in 1986, the novelty of the Green message and *die Grünen*'s electoral success in 1987 (when it captured 8.3% of the votes, and 42 out of 497 seats in the *Bundestag*) contributed towards stimulating interest in Green party politics in Spain (Barcelò 1994).

Before the 1993 general election, optimism was once again running high and the Greens had finally attracted considerable interest. *El País*, Spain's most influential (socialist) newspaper, even published a special supplement on Green politics (*El País* 01/04/1993). There was great optimism that the Greens would finally arrive on the Spanish political scene. One of the rogue parties, VERDE, had ceased to exist, and LVE only mounted a half-hearted campaign. The Catalan AV had brokered a unity with LV. Nonetheless, the Greens polled fewer votes than in the 1989 election⁶¹.

After this electoral defeat, LV effectively ceased to be a state-wide party as the different regional federations distanced themselves from the party command and began to chart their own way forward. Behind the scenes, there had long been talks with IU (and even PSOE) about possible alliances, and although these were officially denied prior to the election (Cabal 1996), LV's electoral rout precipitated a further centrifugal impetus. In January 1994, the party executive decided to change LV into a confederation (LV de Asturias 2010) of regional and wholly autonomous parties.

⁶¹ LV won 0.79% of the votes as against 0.77% in 1989. However, in 1993 the party also included the Catalan AV, so that this apparently higher figure actually represents a decline in the number of votes for the Green party. Furthermore, there

Regional and local elections

In the party's early days, LV primarily prioritised the general and European elections, where they received some financial and moral support (Garrido interview: 2006) from the EGC. They only began to contest regional elections in the early 1990s. Once again, media predictions that *los Verdes* would win about 5 different regional seats in these early elections (Cabal 1996: 85) came to nothing. However, support for the Green option was promising in a few regions (standing at about 2.5% of the aggregated vote). Given a more proportional electoral system, LV would even have secured seats. For example, LV secured 1.59% of the vote in Madrid in 1991 but failed to win a seat whereas IU obtained 12.22% of the vote (7.6 times more than LV) and won 13 seats. Clearly, the 5% threshold prevented LV from obtaining a representation commensurate with their share of the vote.

In short, despite the fact that gaining representation at regional level had a lower entry barrier (as was the case for *die Grünen*, who achieved their first success at meso-government level), the Spanish Green regional parties were still disadvantaged by the electoral system. Moreover, at regional level they had to face additional competition from nationalist parties, a number of which combined a nationalist and new left discourse emphasising the importance of the region's natural and cultural resources as well as calling for solidarity and social justice (see Appendix D for an example of the overlap between the Aragonese nationalist party's discourse with LV's).

In local elections, LV's failure hinged on a number of further factors: the party was under-resourced and prioritised the higher-visibility elections; Green candidates were generally viewed with suspicion, were held to be idealistic, impractical and unable to provide the services which Spaniards require from their local council, where knowing the right person in the town hall can ease bureaucratic hurdles; there were competing local parties, including not only the regional parties but usually *ad hoc* independent parties, representing the interests of a particular faction within a town or village. Success in the municipal elections would have needed a network of well-established local groups, which LV lacked. Consequently, although local elections

return 66,099 councillors across the country, only a handful of seats (2 and 5 respectively) were won by LV in 1987 and 1991.

The death of Los Verdes

At the end of this first period, LV ceased to exist as the party was transformed into the *Confederación de los Verdes* (CLV) in January 1994. After ten years, the Greens had finally adopted the organisational model first proposed by the Catalan Greens in 1985. Unfortunately, the decision came too late to save LV. The Catalan Greens withdrew from the confederation almost immediately, and CLV remained a loose association of predominantly warring Green parties. If the Greens had adopted a confederal solution at an earlier stage, they would have avoided the endless inter-regional party problems ‘which took up almost the entire energy’ of the early Greens’ (*Campomanes 1994: 33).

Nonetheless, during its first ten years the party (and its Catalan counterpart) contested an increasing number of seats, and by 1993 the Greens had become an established, if still electorally insignificant, part of the political landscape.

4.2.2 A Confederation of Green Parties is born too late: 1994-2010

The years 1993 and 1994 marked an important turning point for the Spanish Greens. The Green option continued to arouse increasing interest, and despite their disappointing general election results in 1993 an *El País* survey (10/04/1994) forecast that the Greens would obtain 3.7% of the votes in the EP election, thereby securing two MEPs – as long as they presented a single list. However, in early 1994 the party, now a confederation, was at a crossroads: over the last ten years the Greens had failed to ‘anchor’ (Gunther 2005) more than a negligible percentage of the voters, and the party had to find an alternative way forward.

Two influential documents from this period illustrate ecologists’ awareness of the party’s problems. The first was an article in an *El País* supplement on PE in Europe

(Pastor & López de Uralde 1993)⁶². The article analysed the constraints limiting the Greens' potential despite an 'extraordinarily active and diversified' PESM (see Appendix F,1 for an extract from this article; Box 4.1 provides a brief summary of the article). It also expressed optimism about the future of a newly reconstituted LV.

Box 4.1 Factors constraining the Greens

- Ecologists prefer to dedicate their energies to the social movements rather than to a power-seeking Green party
- Ecologists are reluctant to increase the division of the left
- The rogue parties led to party fragmentation and hence voter confusion
- The regional dimension has led to difficulties in creating a single Green party
- There is intense party competition from similar new left parties such as IU and left-wing nationalist parties

Source: Pastor and López de Uralde 1993

The optimism expressed by Pastor and López de Uralde (1993) about the future of the Spanish Greens proved to be misplaced. The previous nine years of factionalism, divisions and political disappointment had set up a path dependence which prevented LV from resolving its internal problems.

The second document, published a few months later by a number of leading ecologists in *Ecología Política*, an environmental journal, was a manifesto outlining the challenges facing the Spanish Greens (VV AA 1994). A summary of the manifesto's key points is provided in Box 4.2.

Both documents represent LV's 'swan song'. By the time the second one was published, LV had become a confederation of regional parties, some of which had already distanced themselves from CLV by forming alliances with IU. CLV was therefore a weak and incomplete confederation from the outset and, furthermore, had to compete with the newly created LVGV, a new statewide party created by a Green

⁶² Pastor founded Greenpeace Spain in 1984 and was its director until 1999. López de Uralde became director of Greenpeace in 1999. He stood down in September 2010 to set up a foundation that is hoping to become Spain's new 'ecology' party

Box 4.2 The Greens' Coming of Age Manifesto





- Political ecology needs to be represented by a political party
- The Greens are strategically and organisationally very weak
- Personalism and factionalism are rife within the party which is therefore unable to operate effectively
- The party lacks realism, & has too many inadequate or self-serving leaders
- The party has not built up a good connection with the PESM, a necessary condition to mobilise more activists and strengthen the party's identity
- The party should reject the 'neither right nor left' slogan: 'the obvious option for any alternative Green political force ... that advocates equity and solidarity is to be part of the left camp'
- Cooperation, wherever possible, should be sought with IU, whilst working towards the consolidation of a strong, independent Green party
- The party should adopt an electorally pragmatic position, given the difficulties of competing within the electoral system. IU and LV should remain separate organisations but present joint lists if feasible.

Source: VV AA 1994: 44-46

faction opposed to the setting up of CLV. From this point on, the party began to fragment increasingly.

Table 4.2 (below), listing the Green groups that stood in the 2008 general election, provides a snapshot indicating the degree of factionalism which has prevailed within the Spanish Greens during this second stage. If each 'Green' party in this snapshot were the sole Green representative for an electoral district the fragmentation would not hinder this party's electoral chances in this district. However, in the 2008 general election there were two Green lists in over half the constituencies and even three in some (see Appendix E,4). The inability to negotiate single lists amongst themselves may be of secondary importance to Green party leaders who are ideologues and following the logic of constituency representation rather than of seeking votes (Kitschelt 1989) but the party's fragmentation confuses and demotivates potential fellow travellers. As a signatory of LV's 1984 statutes wrote: 'Quite honestly, by now *Los Verdes* have created such a tangled mess that it's even difficult for me to distinguish who they all are' (*Rodríguez Barreda 2009).

Table 4.2 Spanish Green Party Groupings & Results in March 2008 General Election

| | | |
|--|---|---|
|  | <p>CLV Los Verdes</p> | <p>This formation (it is not a party) is a Confederation of regional parties which, until recently, was largely ‘controlled’ by the Andalusian Greens, who dominate the party executive.</p> <p>Polled 0.19 % of total or 49,355 votes</p> |
|  | <p>Los Verdes – Grupo Verde</p> | <p>This group is based in Madrid where its undisputed leader, Esteban Cabal, has led this party since 1994 (he was previously in IU, LV and has several times been a Green councillor).</p> <p>Polled 0.12 % of total or 41,119 votes</p> |
|  | <p>Los Verdes de Europa</p> | <p>This is a breakaway group from LV, generally thought to have seceded from LV for personal reasons. Its leader was the 2004-2009 MEP (elected on the PSOE list). He and his followers fielded lists in several regions: Madrid and three other regions. A short-lived and now defunct ‘party’.</p> <p>Polled 0.08% of total (or 20, 419) votes</p> |
|  | <p>IU /Green coalitions and alliances</p> | <p>A number of regional Green parties allied with IU and, when they did so, carried this particular logo.</p> <p>The number of votes they received in the regions where they stood reflects a choice for an ecosocialist OR left-wing vote.</p> <p>In Catalonia, for example, the ecosocialist ICV obtained 4.92% of the total votes (183,338) and secured one seat in the <i>Congreso</i> . That seat went to an ICV deputy, Joan Herrera, who is known for his ‘Green’ stance</p> <p>In Asturias, the IU/LV/Nationalist coalition got 7.18% of the votes – insufficient to obtain an MP (the region is small and only returns 8 MPs to the <i>Congreso</i>)</p> |
| | <p>Independent Green regional parties</p> | <p>No logo as this group represents all the Green parties which do not fall into any of the groupings above: sometimes they are part of a regional national/left-wing alliance (as in the case of the Balearic Greens) or sometimes they are just standing alone.</p> |

Source: MIR and Green parties’ websites

The Greens' apparent failure to improve their electoral performance between 1994-2010 seems to justify commentators' views that the Spanish Greens enjoy only 'trivial support' (Mair 2001: 103). However, on examining the parties' trajectory in greater detail it is clear that – despite numerous difficulties – Green politics has made greater inroads than is generally allowed. The sections below show how, despite their failure to create a single Green party, from 1994 onwards disparate groups or regional parties have achieved some electoral success, predominantly through a strategy of alliances.

General elections

The Greens' 1994-2008 general election results (see Appendix E,1) show a considerable downturn since 1989 and 1993, when the aggregated Greens polled 1.59% and 1.15% respectively. However, this by no means necessarily signifies a diminishing interest in PE as many 'Green' voters may now be voting for red-green alliances.

For instance, the poor results look particularly misleading in that CLV, for example, did not contest all of the elections due to a pre-electoral alliance with PSOE, which needed the estimated 200,000 Green votes (El Mundo 12/01/04), and also felt that this alliance would strengthen its Green credentials. The alliance gave CLV its first seat in the *Congreso* in 2004 (in 2006 a second Green, next in line on the PSOE list, secured a parliamentary seat when a PSOE MP stepped down). Whilst the alliance gave CLV an opening in national politics and provided much-needed funding for the party, the confederal committee's decision to opt for a PSOE alliance was rejected by half of CLV's regional parties and led to further fragmentation. A newspaper article written by the Catalan green, Josep Lluís Freijo, attests to the dismay (see Appendix A) generated by the committee's decision.

Only the Andalusian Greens were wholeheartedly behind the PSOE-CLV pact although in a few other regions (the Basque Country, Castille and León and Cantabria) the 'main' Green party supported the confederation's decision whilst dissenting parties opted for another Green party or for an alliance with IU. In Madrid,

Barcelona and Valencia only breakaway groups of Greens remained within the Confederation (El Mundo 12/01/04). The consequences of the confederal committee's tactic became evident in the 2008 election: CLV, once again standing on an independent ticket, saw its share of the Green vote decline substantially

Ecologists have also been represented in the *Congreso* since 2004 by the ecosocialist party, ICV (*Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds*, Initiative for Catalonia Greens). In the last two parliaments ICV has been represented by Joan Herrera, a young politician whose words and actions predominantly show his commitment to ecologism⁶³. Consequently, despite the Greens' share of the vote ostensibly declining over the last 15 years in the general elections, between 2006-2008 there were in fact three 'Green' MPs in parliament – not a negligible result for a political force which is generally held to be of no standing.

European Parliament elections

As mentioned previously, despite the opportunities afforded by the Spanish single district elections for the EP, the Greens have repeatedly squandered this opportunity through their inability to present a single list, as indicated in Table 4.3 (Appendix E,3 provides greater detail of the results).

The nearest the Greens came to presenting a single list was in 1999, when a coalition led by CLV and ICV (called *Los Verdes–Izquierdas de los Pueblos*, The Greens – The Nationalist Left) fell short of winning a seat by 0.03% of the total vote. Only LVGV (who obtained 0.66% of the vote) did not join the coalition. If it had done so, the Greens' victory would have been assured.

The 2009 EP election further exemplifies the Greens' disarray. Responding to the ever-increasing fragmentation of the Greens, there was another concerted effort to unify the Greens in time for the European elections, this time emanating from a new

⁶³ In the 2010 Catalan regional elections, Herrera stood as the head of ICV's list and won a seat, therefore becoming a regional MP and abandoning his seat in the *Cortes*. His replacement in the *Cortes*, Nuria Buenaventura, appears to be less committed to ecologism than her predecessor though she styles herself as an ecosocialist.

Table 4.3 The Greens' Various Strategies in Successive EP Elections

| Year | Strategy | Results | Seats |
|------|---|---|---------------------|
| 1994 | The Andalusian, Catalan and Canaries Greens stood on the <i>Els Verds</i> list (these three parties were in talks with IU). The remaining CLV parties failed to organise a list. The only statewide Green party to stand was LVGV | <i>Els Verds</i> 0.23% <i>Los Verdes-Grupo Verde</i> 0.59% | 0 |
| 1999 | CLV allies with ICV to present a single list: <i>Los Verdes-Izquierdas de los Pueblos</i> (LV-IP, Greens and the Nationalist Left) LVGV present a separate list | LV-IP just miss getting a seat with 1.42%. LVGV obtained 0.66% of the votes Euskal Herriarok (previously Herri Batasuna, the political wing of ETA) win a seat with 1.45% of the vote | 0 |
| 2004 | CLV forms a pre-electoral alliance with PSOE but many CLV parties do not support the alliance They ally with other parties or stand alone LVGV stands alone ICV stands with IU | David Hammerstein (the 'Green' on the PSOE list) wins a seat in the EP. He joins the EP Green Group. ICV's first ecosocialist MEP, Raül Romeva, joins the EP Green Group in the EP | 1 CLV 1 ICV |
| 2009 | <i>Europa de los Pueblos – Verdes</i> (EP-V, Europe of the People – Greens). CLV stands with a coalition of left-wing nationalist parties headed by the Catalan ERC ⁶⁴ . ICV stands with IU LVGV stands alone | EP-V wins one seat ICV's Raul Romeva regains his seat | 1 EP-V 1 ICV |

Source: MIR website; El País; party websites

generation of Greens. In July 2008 a group of northern Green parties and movements met at Hondarribia (in the Basque Country) and drew up a manifesto calling for unity of the Greens and a single Green list.

⁶⁴ This group is led by ERC, the Catalan pro-independence party; BNG, a Galician left-wing nationalist party; two small Basque nationalist parties, Aralar and Eusko Alkartasuna; the Aragonese CHA, or Chunta Aragonesista.

Those who have signed this declaration would like all of Spain's Greens to reflect on the fact that there are no ideological differences between us to justify our existing divisions. (*Hondarribia 2008)

The goal was to unite all Spanish Greens including ICV, which stated that it would only join if all Spanish Green parties signed up to the initiative. But negotiations to present a single list for the EP election fell apart, largely because ICV and the Confederation could not agree on issues such as who would head the single list. CLV's ruling council voted to present itself for the European elections as part of EP-V, a coalition of left-wing nationalist parties⁶⁵. A number of small Green parties rejected the EP-V coalition and instead opted for LVGV, the only independent Green option (LV-GVE 2009).

Since 1995, CLV has varied its electoral strategies for each European election with limited success. Its alliance with PSOE in 2004 secured CLV an MEP, and in the 2009 EP elections the EP-V won one seat which, according to the pre-electoral agreement, will be rotated by the first four on the list, which includes CLV. The Spanish Greens were also represented by another Green MEP, elected in 2004 and 2009. He represents the ecosocialists and is from the Catalan party, ICV.

Regional Elections

Meso-government in Spain potentially provides small parties with a better opportunity to access power⁶⁶, although they still face considerable obstacles to gain representation. For example, a minimum threshold is required to win a seat and each

⁶⁵ EP-V is part of the European Free Alliance (EFA) which, together with the European Green group, forms the Greens/EFA group in the EP.

CLV was welcomed into this coalition to help EP-V secure a second seat. However, they won only one seat which, according to a pre-electoral agreement, is to be shared by the different parties making up the coalition – with CLV being allocated the last six months of the parliamentary term.

⁶⁶ The following example demonstrates how regional elections provide better opportunities to small parties in Spain: the region of Aragón has three electoral districts (three provinces). In general elections the region returns 13 MPs to the 350-seat *Congreso* (the different provinces return 7, 3 and 3 deputies respectively in recognition of their population levels).

In contrast, in the 2007 elections to the Aragonese parliament, which has a total of 67 elected representatives, the three districts return 35, 18 and 14 deputies (Gobierno de Aragón 2009).

regional parliament can set its own barrier: most have opted for a 5% minimum in a given constituency though some have set a 3% threshold. In the regional elections since 1993, Green parties have either stood independently or in an alliance and have won 15⁶⁷ seats altogether (see Table 4.4). Only one seat (Ibiza) has been won by an

Table 4.4 Regions which have had a ‘Green’ Regional MP

| Years in office | Region | Number of seats | In coalition with |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---|
| 1994-1998 | Basque Country | 1 | EBB-Berdeak ⁶⁸ (IU-Los Verdes) |
| 1994-1996 | Andalucía | 2 | Izquierda Unida |
| 1995-1999 | Balearic Islands | 1 (Ibiza) | Els Verds of Ibiza were independent |
| 1995-1999 | Catalonia | 1 | ICV (the Catalan IU) |
| 1999-2003 | Balearic Islands | 1* | Izquierda Unida* |
| 2000-2004 | Andalucía | 1* | PSOE* |
| 2003-2007 | Balearic Islands | 1 | Izquierda Unida |
| 2003-2004 ⁶⁹ | Valencia | 1 | Izquierda Unida |
| 2007- | Balearic Islands | 1* | Bloc per Mallorca* ⁷⁰ |
| 2007- | Asturias | 1* | IU and Asturian Bloc* |
| 2010- | Catalonia | 4 (or 5?) | ICV |

Source: adapted from the Valencian Government’s electoral archive and El País

*A star indicates that the coalition in question was in government.

independent Green MP. The remaining elected Greens won as part of a coalition, and were high enough on the coalition list to be elected.

⁶⁷ This figure is approximate due to the inclusion of some of ICV’s regional MPs as ‘Green’. As a result of the 2010 elections in Catalonia, the new leader of ICV is Joan Herrera, previously an MP in the *Congreso*. Herrera’s credentials as a Green politician are not questioned by anyone, not even rival Green parties. Although critics are distrustful of ICV as a Green party, they always make an exception for a few politicians in its ranks. In recent years, the party has become decidedly more eco-socialist. Whereas previously there were no ‘Greens’ in regional government, the 2010 regional election in Catalonia resulted in the election of 10 ICV MPs. 4 of these, including Herrera, have profiles that link them to ecosocialism.

⁶⁸ EBB-Berdeak is the Basque name used in the Basque Country for IU-Los Verdes [Ezker Batua-Berdeak](#)

⁶⁹ The elected Green, Carles Arnal, resigned from Los Verdes in 2004 as a result of Los Verdes’ decision to ally with PSOE.

⁷⁰ This is a broad coalition of the Mallorcan left, including all the left –wing and nationalist parties. It has 4 seats in the Balearic Parliament, is itself in alliance with PSOE and is therefore able to govern instead of PP. One of the Bloc MPs is a ‘green’.

In addition to these 15 ‘Green-Green’ deputies, ICV has won between 7-12 seats at each regional election in Catalonia; however, until 2010 only one of these could have been categorised as as ‘Green’. This situation has changed. In the 2010 Catalan regional election ICV won ten seats, and for the first time ever a cluster of these MPs (four or five) have credentials and interests which define them as ecologists.

In the remaining regions which have seen the election of a Green, this has usually happened as a result of the Greens either joining IU or a broad coalition of the left in order to defeat PP. An arrangement of this kind has become the norm in the Balearic Islands. In 1999, the Majorcan Greens and IU forged an alliance, *Esquerra Unida-Els Verds* (EU-EV)⁷¹, and won three seats in the regional elections that year – one of these went to a Green, Margalida Rosselló. As a result of a pact signed by all the Balearic parties of the left, who together had a sufficient majority to form a government, Rosselló was made regional minister for the environment, thus becoming the first Spanish Green to achieve high office. During her four year mandate, she was instrumental in introducing the controversial ‘ecotax’, a €1 per day tax on tourists staying in holiday accommodation on the island. Rosselló was re-elected in 2003, but the ‘Pact’ lost the election.

The Balearic example demonstrates how the Greens can use regional politics to gain some influence at regional level despite being handicapped by the electoral system. The regional arena is also more favourable for the Greens because the parties appear to be better at finding a workable strategy when it comes to regional elections. Geographical proximity and a shared regional culture means that Green activists identify more closely with each other and with other potential partners, thus facilitating the decision making process and arriving at a decision which is viable for a very particular set of local circumstances.

In Spain as a whole (with the exception of Catalonia) Green politics continues to push for the creation of a statewide party, and continues to prioritise high-profile candidates as well as general and European elections. This course of action is

⁷¹ Esquerra Unida is the Balearic federation of IU.

encouraged by the EGP and by some leaders of Spanish Green parties. However, given that Spain's Green parties are mostly regional, and only cooperate with each other intermittently, it is difficult to understand the persistent attempts to force a state-wide model on a party-movement which is more suited to territorial politics.

Local elections

Although the Spanish Greens' electoral performance at municipal level has improved in the last 18 years, their achievement to date remains statistically low: in the 2007 municipal elections they secured 70 seats on different councils in ten different regions (EGP Website 2010).⁷² These results compare favourably⁷³ with 1999 (35 seats) and 2003 (28 seats), and very well with the 2 and 5 seats of the early years, but never match the favourable predictions made by surveys during the campaigns. Constraints at municipal level are varied and have already been outlined: in all but the very small municipalities, parties need to reach the 5% vote threshold in order to win a seat; competition comes from all the major parties and also by highly local parties; engrained clientelism remains an important feature of local politics.

Furthermore, voters do not appear to regard *ecologistas* as suitable local representatives. As a Green activist stated, 'People want Green parties who will stick up for the rights of the citizens; but when they need representatives, they want someone who's wearing a tie' (El País 1/05/07).

In the 2007 local elections, CLV made a concerted effort to win more seats – and virtually bankrupted themselves in the attempt. But despite surveys predicting an upsurge in their number of supporters, these forecasts did not translate into votes. CLV's 2007 electoral campaign prioritised one issue, property speculation, an issue which ecologists had been fighting single-handedly for years; by 2007, ecologists'

⁷² Early results for the 2011 municipal elections, two weeks after the event (06/06/2011), suggest that the Greens did slightly better in these elections but the results are difficult to determine. One Green party states that the Greens have won 79 seats ([Coordinadora Verde](#) 2011) and control three councils; another Green party says that the Greens have won more than 100 seats (LVGV 2011). Because neither of these parties acknowledge some of the legitimate results obtained by the other party, it is hard to estimate the precise number of seats obtained.

viewpoint on the causes and solutions to rampant property speculation had gained many adherents, with many Spaniards convinced that the fundamental reason behind the property boom was that councils and property developers were collaborating extensively to maximise profits, with no regard for the longer-term environmental or social consequences. Despite the general public's awareness of the corruption of many councils which were in the hands of the big parties, the majority of these councils were voted back into power. Spaniards, it seems, agree with the Greens' analysis of the problems but don't trust them to deliver the solutions.

In the small towns and villages, Greens only present candidates if there is a local party; however, council elections in the big towns and cities have a high profile and the Greens always field candidates in these. The 2003 Madrid municipal election will be examined here because of it is one of the Greens' most famous campaigns and helps to illustrate the external and internal difficulties faced by the Greens.

In 2003, nearly all the Madrid Green parties had agreed to stand together as *Los Verdes – Izquierda de Madrid* (The Greens – the Madrid Left)⁷⁴. The coalition, financially backed by ICV and supported by the EFGP, even included LVGV (normally antagonistic towards CLV) as well as a number of small IU splinter groups. The coalition secured a charismatic, well established figure, José María Mendiluce (a PSOE MEP), to head the Green list for Madrid. As Gunther says of Spanish political culture, the personal attractiveness of a party's candidates is considered very important and takes precedence over aspects such as how long the individual has been in the party (2005: 259). Mendiluce was in the PSOE ranks until shortly before his nomination as candidate to be Green mayor of Madrid⁷⁵. Although his credentials as an ecologist were sound – for example, he was elected president of Greenpeace Spain in 2000, a position that was, however, rescinded when he

⁷⁴ This coalition was built upon the earlier project (in 2001) to bring together most of Spain's Greens under a new banner – *Los Verdes-Izquierda Verde* (The Greens – The Green Left). However, this 'new' party was not even registered as such.

⁷⁵ Mendiluce was an independent MEP on the PSOE lists from 1994-2004 and, before that, from 1980 onwards worked in Africa and Central America for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees before heading his final humanitarian mission as UN special envoy to the Balkans.

announced that he wouldn't be stepping down as an MEP – he was not a long-standing Green party activist.

Mendiluce's campaign drew much media attention and certainly put the spotlight on the Greens. It was stylishly produced, with an imaginative video, numerous posters and plenty of media coverage, and the EFGP sent representatives to Madrid to support Mendiluce's bid. The Greens were predicted to win 4% of the votes (ABC 18/11/2002) and were aiming for 5%, in order to reach the electoral threshold for municipal elections in Madrid. This seemed an achievable goal and would have given them two councillors.

However, PSOE and IU counterattacked: PSOE expressed indignation that a socialist-sponsored MEP was heading the Greens whilst IU (and PSOE) called on the Greens to abandon their campaign, in order to prevent the fragmentation of the left (no-one called on IU to do the same). The media fuelled the fire of a vitriolic campaign against the Greens, who were portrayed as traitors to the left. In the event, they only secured 1.55% of the votes (the other Green party in Madrid obtained 0.58%). Whilst their failure can certainly be attributed in part to the successful campaign accusing them of 'lack of solidarity with the left', it is also clear that Mendiluce's behaviour during the campaign helped to alienate some Greens. Some supporters disliked Mendiluce's authoritarian, 'Bonapartist' style (El Mundo 02/02/2003) and Angel Requena, the candidate heading the Green list for the 2003 regional elections, also had grave misgivings about Mendiluce (El Mundo 31/01/2003).

In retrospect, this episode reveals some flaws in the initial campaign. Despite the Greens' attempts to present a single list, they were unable to persuade one faction to join them (the stumbling block was the choice of Mendiluce as candidate); furthermore, the strategy of adopting a candidate who was not a Green party militant may have backfired. Certainly, it led to accusations that the Greens' co-optation of high-profile figures was opportunistic and based on vote-seeking at all costs. In

defeat, there is nothing but criticism and this is a situation which the Greens have had to face routinely.

Having provided a chronological account of the Greens' electoral fortunes the next sub-section will analyse these outcomes by revisiting some of the particular constraints which mark the Spanish Greens out from Greens elsewhere.

4.2.3 Reviewing some key themes

The previous two sections have highlighted the fragmentation of the Green vote, demonstrating that it is a misnomer to talk about *Los Verdes* as if this was a single Green party. However, it is easy to see why the confusion persists: many Greens loosely refer to themselves as 'Verdes' without specifying which Green party they support⁷⁶. More confusingly, for some, allegiance to the 'Greens' means supporting a Green-Green party while others would widen the definition of a Green to include the ecosocialists.

This ambiguity impacts substantially on any analysis of the Spanish Greens. The latter's electoral performance is particularly poor if one only looks at data for CLV, supposedly Spain's 'official' Green party; it improves a little if one considers the aggregated Green-Green vote.

However, PE's electoral performance can be interpreted in a far more favourable light by redefining what a 'Green' party is. For instance, according to Mendiluce's criteria, in 2003 the Greens had 500 local councillors, 20 mayors, 17 regional MPs, an MEP and an MP in the *Congreso* (ABC 09/02/2003). But a reading of the Green-Green parties' position in 2003, excluding the ecosocialists, would throw up far more modest results: about 38 councillors and 3 regional MPs⁷⁷.

⁷⁶ On 14/02/2011, the newspapers reported the murder in Valencia of a lawyer who, according to the papers, was the head of Los Verdes' list for Madrid. In fact, the person in question was to have headed the List of *Los Verdes Ecopacifistas*, a small dissenting party which decided not to join the Green coalition for the May 2011 local elections.

⁷⁷ For the sake of comparison it is worth mentioning the Greens' position in France –a country where, in its early years, the Greens had problems in establishing a viable party. In 2009 the Greens had 41 Mayors, 169 regional MPs, 3 MPs and 14 MEPs (<http://lesverts.fr/>)

These two contrasting views of the state of Green politics in Spain demonstrate the difficulty of providing an account of the Spanish Greens. This thesis differentiates the Green-Greens from the ecosocialists and maintains that there is an important difference between these two positions (see Chapter 2). However, it must also be acknowledged that the ideological boundaries separating ecosocialism and ecologism are, in practice, becoming increasingly blurred.

Clearly, there is an ideological space for a Green party or parties but it appears to be almost impossible for this formation to establish a functional, structural space. The following sub-sections will review further structural and strategic barriers that contribute to preventing the Spanish Greens from consolidating their presence.

Party fragmentation

Scholars are all agreed that the main problem besetting the Spanish Greens is factionalism (e.g. Doherty 2002). As Larios states (2006), this is as a result of irreconcilable differences with respect to strategy, styles of leadership and a long history of frustrated battles, but it is a trait that has undoubtedly been aggravated by the 'permissiveness' of the Spanish electoral system (Lago Penas 2004). This refers to the fact that it is very easy to stand for public office in Spain: no deposit needs to be paid in order to present a list, and parties are entitled to some free publicity if they register to stand for an election (this is proportional to the number of votes won in the previous election). It is therefore all too easy for internal dissent to lead to the formation of a new party.

As we have seen, between 1995-2010 there was one 'official' state-wide party, CLV, and at least one further state-wide Green party of comparable stature, LVGV. Periodically, there was also at least one other Green party with state-wide pretensions (such as *Los Verdes de Europa* and *Los Verdes Ecopacifistas*) and, of course, ICV. At first, only CLV was a member of the EFGP but since 2004 ICV has also been admitted to the EGP. This has conferred a legitimacy on the two Spanish parties. According according to Karamichas, a useful way of determining whether a party is really 'Green' is to establish whether it is recognised by the EFGP (Karamichas

2002). However, this approach is questionable, particularly given ICV's strong links with IU.

A more accurate reason to explain ICV's admission into the EGP was the fact that Raül Romeva (number 2 on the IU/ICV list for the 2004 EP elections) won a seat and asked to join the Green group in the EP rather than sitting with his IU colleague in the GUE (European United Left) group. ICV's inclusion in the EGP was galling to Spanish and Catalan 'pure' Greens because, previously, the EFGP had refused to accept Els Verds on the grounds that it was a 'Catalan' party; furthermore, LVGV has always been refused membership, an illogical position given that even their many detractors within the PESM acknowledge them to be 'Greens'. In short, although the EGP wants to resolve the Green's factionalism, it has also fuelled discontent within this political group.

The Spanish Greens have always been aware of the need to unify the party in order to build a strong party political presence, and have attempted this time and time again with great illusion but no success. One particularly significant attempt concerned the setting up in 2001 of *Los Verdes – Izquierda Verde*, a project which would have brought ICV and the Confederation into a single Spanish confederation, thus creating a statewide umbrella group with real credibility. The setting up of this new confederation generated another surge of optimism for the Greens, as an article written by David Hammerstein (Spanish Green MEP 2004-2008) indicates (see Appendix F,3); however, this embryonic party fizzled out after Mendiluce's failed attempt to win a seat on the Madrid City Council

Since 2008, another effort to bring together all of Spain's Greens has been under way. The Hondarribia project, introduced in Chapter 4.2.2, now known as *Coordinadora Verde*, is led by two spokespersons, Florent Marcellesi and Sonia Ortega, both of whom previously worked in the EGP headquarters. The project is backed by the EGP as well as by ICV (who have provided moral and financial backing but remain on the outside). It is further supported by some but not all of the country's Green parties and by Juantxo López de Uralde, president of Greenpeace

Spain (2001-2010). Since late 2010, and with the support of *Coordinadora Verde*, López de Uralde has set up a foundation or think tank called *Equo* which aims to create a united Green political party to fight the 2012 general election. The new party will aim to include all Greens but will also embrace the alternative left, left-wing nationalism and, above all, try to persuade the social movements to come on board. Since *Equo* was set up, the Green battle lines have been re-drawn and new alliances are being forged between the different Green players and their allies, but with no loss of fragmentation. The concluding chapter of this thesis will examine these latest events which go beyond the period established for this study (1970-2010).

In sum, for too many years the Spanish Greens have been unable to pull together and the theory of path dependency highlights the Spanish Greens's difficulty in moving beyond the present impasse they find themselves in. However, the example of Spain's leading EMO, *Ecologistas en Acción*, shows that a sea change is, indeed, possible. This possibility is supported by Boucek's thesis (2009) that factionalism is not an incurable disease. Instead of viewing factionalism as a problem, she asserts that it can be cooperative, competitive or degenerative. In her view, factionalism is a very common group dynamic that can help like-minded groups of people to generate and sharpen their ideas. If they can cooperate with other factions within their own party (company or institution) then the factionalism is a positive trait. The same can be said for competitive factionalism which only becomes destructive when the factions do nothing but routinely oppose each other. Boucek's view is that good leadership and a good set of incentives can help to channel the factionalism in a positive direction. According to this theory, the Spanish Greens have never had a better opportunity to break their mould.

The nationalist question

LV was originally conceived as a state-wide federal party but fundamental disagreements regarding the configuration of the party undermined the party from the outset. These disagreements stemmed from factions who were opposed to the party's status as a statewide party that was controlled by a central executive: many Catalan

Greens believed that their party, which represented the Catalan nation, should have total autonomy and should not be subjugated to a Spanish executive. Other Greens prioritised a participatory and grass-roots party structure and therefore preferred giving their loyalty to regional or even local Green parties.

However, the attempt to resolve this contentious issue by creating a confederation failed for a number of reasons. Firstly, the confederation came too late for the Catalans, who had spent ten years campaigning for a confederation and by 1994 had severed their connections with the Spanish Greens. Secondly, the new structure failed to give the regional parties either the full autonomy they craved or a consensual confederation of equals; despite CLV's declared commitment to a confederal structure, party leaders continued to rule the party from the centre. Thirdly, a number of Greens were still convinced of the need for a state-wide party: consequently, the demise of LV led to the creation of LVGV, thereby increasing party fragmentation.

The failure to reach a satisfactory confederal solution such as the one found by *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA) must also be attributed to the fact that Spanish Green party leaders are conditioned by the rules and customs of the Spanish party system and are therefore loath to abandon imperatives such as the need to found a state-wide party in order to be able to contest a general election.

However, there are examples elsewhere in Europe to prove that the state-wide Green party is not the only option. Literature on the Spanish Greens makes no mention of the GPS⁷⁸ and yet the GPS's confederal party system could serve as a model for the Spanish Greens. The Swiss model (as discussed by Ladner and Brändle 2008) emphasises the autonomy of each of the many Green parties that stand in the local and cantonal elections as well as their success in creating a single Federation⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ The GPS has had a moderate but increasing rate of success and in the last eight years has polled on average about 8% of the votes in different levels of elections (Ladner and Brändle 2008).

⁷⁹ Despite being called a 'federation' it is, in fact, a confederation

It could furthermore be argued that the existence of a European Green party obviates the need for state-wide parties and that the Greens should, wherever possible, remain closer to their grassroots.

A strategic divide: Green-Green versus Red-Green

The most visible fragmentation as regards Green politics in Spain is an apparent ideological divergence, illustrated by the fact that Spain is represented in the EGP by two Green parties, ICV and CLV (EGP Website 2010): the first, broadly speaking, is a Green-Green party whilst the second is a Red-Green party (see Bomberg 1998: 24-25 on this traditional distinction between two main Green families)⁸⁰. The ecologist (CLV) and ecosocialist (ICV) variants of Green politics are further replicated in many Spanish regions that have a Green-Green party and/or a coalition Green-IU party⁸¹. In some regions, these coalitions represent a real attempt to merge the red and the green; in other regions, the Greens are co-opted for electoral purposes only and subsequently sidelined.

Outside Spain, ICV is recognised as a 'Green' party but within Spain the party's Green credentials are largely mistrusted and the party is still considered to be – as it once was – the Catalan variant of IU and hence a Eurocommunist party. Until recently, its party leaders still adhered to a productivist style of thinking and the party retains a number of links with IU (these will be discussed in Chapter 5). However, the election in 2010 of a committed ecologist, Joan Herrera, as the party's new general secretary and leader of ICV in the regional parliament indicates how much the party has shifted towards ecosocialism in the last few years.

The ideological shift within ICV reflects changes that are also taking place in some of IU's different federations. The latter are riven with internal problems (leading to

⁸⁰ As previously mentioned, their differences also stem from the fact that LCV retains a belief in the need for a Green party (albeit a confederation) representing the whole of Spain, whereas ICV believes that by representing Catalonia it is representing the Catalan nation which is its primary function.

⁸¹ In November 2010 a new coalition party was created in the Balearics, bringing together most of the Greens and the region's IU. The new party is called *Iniciativa-Verdes* and is modelled on (and was financed and advised by) ICV. ICV is also trying to encourage a similar red-green coalition in Valencia (Greens who are opposed to the forces of nationalism are appalled by what looks like ICV's attempt to annex the Green parties of regions where Catalan is spoken – a pan-catalanist thesis is that all these regions should become part of the *Països Catalans* (Catalan Countries)).

divisions and defections from the party) (Público 07/12/2009): some factions are ideologically in favour of adopting an ecosocialist position and moving towards libertarian and participatory politics instead of the PCE legacy which has resulted in a closed and monolithic organisational structure. At present, however, these factions are in the minority at state-wide level, and the PCE executive is trying to prevent the federation from moving in that direction (Público 22/12/2010).

If Spain's Red-Greens are still perhaps more Red than Green at present, most Green-Green parties are decidedly on the Red side of Green. Despite CLV's statute, which avoids all mention of the left-right cleavage, stating only that the party is working to bring about a society based on 'ecologism, pacifism, non-violence, feminism, egalitarianism, republicanism, radical pragmatism, libertarianism and universalism' (CLV Statutes 2010), most Spanish Greens define themselves as unequivocally of the 'left'.⁸²

We never liked the idea that 'we're not right nor left', in a country where that kind of discourse was used in the thirties by Primo de Rivera's son and the fascists. The empty rhetoric of being beyond right or left are not appropriate in a country that has been through a civil war and Franco's dictatorship. But the worst of it is when this rhetoric is not devoid of meaning and, consciously or inadvertently, contributes to the triumph of the PP. The Greens are part of the Left, and enrich and transform the latter. (*Santamarta et al. 2003)

In fact, the Greens' early history and subsequent cooperation between IU and the Greens demonstrate that, despite frequent hostility arising from these two formations, the Greens and IU share a similar ideological positioning on many issues (Karamichas 2004). Over the years, different regional IU and Green parties have engaged in numerous negotiations and most of these parties have, at some point or other, formed an alliance. In some cases (i.e. Catalonia) the alliance prospered and evolved into a new, important (albeit minor) Catalan party; in other cases (most

⁸² However, they are clearly less 'left-wing' than ICV who describe their ideological provenance as the following: 'ICV is a democratic, catalanist, republican, left-wing, ecological, feminist, localist political party, composed of men and women who are inheritors of the [party's past communist history] and of the workers' movement, a party of people who want to transform the world and overthrow capitalism; they also believe in social justice, peace, equality, radical democracy, freedom, a secular society ... and want to build a society based on democracy and socialism (ICV Definició 2011).

notably in the case of the Andalusians) the coalition fell apart after only three years, leaving a legacy of bitterness and hostility which makes any medium-term association between the two parties unlikely in Andalucía.

IU is presently a very beleaguered coalition that has lost much of its former prominence: from its highest point, when it won 21 seats in parliament in the 1996 general election, it dropped to 8 seats in 2000 and in 2008 only held two seats in the *Congreso*, one of which went to ICV, which stands within the IU group for the general elections (see Appendix E,7 for IU's election results). The decision reached by Madrid's IU federation to stand with the Greens for the 2011 municipal and regional elections signals the growing importance of a faction within IU who are increasingly in sympathy with many of the tenets of ecosocialism. However, another faction within IU is strongly opposed to this tendency. Given the territorial variation and distinctiveness of IU's federations regional coalitions between IU and the Greens will continue to be provisional.

Accusations regarding incompatibility on ideological grounds (Green versus Red-Green) are frequently cited as the reasons behind one Green party's refusal to ally with another party. However, the history of the Spanish Greens shows that this is far from being the case. Parties which once stated they could never countenance ecosocialism have been known to ally with IU (less Green than ICV) if the party leaders are persuaded that this strategy will work to their advantage. All too often, the Greens have wavered between the path of independence and that of allying with the alternative left in order to gain access to power. In most cases the venture has proved unsuccessful in the long term. Recently however, a number of new alternative left coalitions have formed (for example in the Balearic Islands and Valencia). They include a Green faction, a faction of dissaffected IU activists and some left-wing nationalists.

The party or movement dichotomy

As in most countries, LV started out as a non-party party, a party that had emerged from the PESM. Whilst Green parties elsewhere were also mistrusted by the social

movements in the early days, in Spain this sentiment has not abated. The movement's initial opposition to the founding of a Green party was based on a number of interconnected factors (anti-party sentiments; loyalty to the left; a preference for double militancy within the PESM and with a more mainstream party; distrust of personality cult prevalent in the Green parties – see Box 4.1 in which leading ecologists in 1993 express their mistrust of the Greens) and this initial rejection undoubtedly constrained the Greens' progress in the early years. The Greens, in turn, felt some resentment against the movements: whilst recognising their considerable contributions to PE, the Greens feel that these movements are too closely connected to other political parties (by which they mean IU, but also some left-wing nationalist parties) or, alternatively, are often too ready to collaborate with the authorities (an accusation which the movements also use against the Greens).

However, the initial mutual suspicion has undergone substantial changes. Although there is a residual antagonism, parties and SMs generally cooperate very well on major issues, and are mutually supportive of each other, recognising that they are all 'ecologists' and working towards the same goals. Nevertheless, the sticking point remains: there is a perception, supported by countless examples, that a leading EMO such as EA is far closer to IU than it is to the Greens. In fact, large parts of the PESM remain opposed to the Spanish Greens, largely because of the latter's' problematic history.

However, without the PESM's support the Greens will never increase their meagre share of the vote. There are many groups of ecologists working to promote PE in a number of organisations such as the trade unions, IU, different regional parties and even PSOE. At present, most of these ecologists do not vote for Green parties, for one simple reason: although they are ideologically in agreement with the Greens, and can see that Green parties seem to represent their interests elsewhere in Europe, they are extremely sceptical of the numerous home-grown varieties and their internal bickering; some of these ecologists are erstwhile supporters of the Greens who have ultimately distanced themselves because of the factionalism (Santamarta 2003). Consequently, they remain with whichever traditional party comes closest to

representing their views and opt for a tactical vote; the more anarchic (or disenchanted with mainstream politics) can cast a protest vote for small new parties such as the anti-bullfighting PACMA or PUM+J (For a Fairer World).

The distance separating Green parties and movements is a barrier to the Spanish Green parties' possibility of improving their electoral performance; however, the existence of both increases the impact of PE. The parties, even if unsuccessful, provide voters with a periodic reminder of the main tenets of PE and also remind the other parties of the need to incorporate some of their policies in their own party programmes; meanwhile, the movements enable sympathisers to engage actively in a political cause they believe in.

Personalism

Green politicians recognise that one of the key problems with the Spanish Greens is the personalism (Larios 2008; Garrido 2006; Puig 2007; García 2007; Rubio 2010) which has arisen around certain individuals who have dominated the parties unduly.

Personalism is a feature which is common to many Green parties and is said to be more pronounced when the parties are small and unsuccessful, and lack a well articulated organisational structure (Kitschelt 1989). This is certainly true of the Spanish Greens. Furthermore, personalism is a marked feature of Spanish political life and particularly dominates small, left-wing parties in Spain which were where many of the Spanish Greens first honed their political skills. Unsurprisingly, therefore, personalism is a feature which has dominated the Spanish Greens since their inception and continues to characterise this group of parties.

The small parties lack resources and, all too often, the day to day running of the party is left to the leader who therefore reacts to events and makes sudden policy changes without broader consultation and with the support of only a few close allies. Those who are excluded from the inner circle feel they have been unfairly treated while the leaders are resentful about doing all the work without any support from others. Given

that the parties lack financial and human resources, the leaders are overworked and unrewarded. Ironically, these problems are aggravated by the very nature of Green political parties which lend themselves to frequent conflicts 'as members tend to be highly involved, ideologically motivated and well-trained in confrontation techniques rather than in submission to authorities' (Frankland et al. 2008: 7).

This situation has contributed to the hostility and tension which is commonplace between different Green party leaders or factions, or within individual parties. Cabal's book on the history of the Spanish Greens (1996) catalogues the constant intrigue and tales of shady deals carried out in the name of PE. Since then, there has been no let up in the gravity of accusations and counter accusations. For example, the 2004-2008 MEP, David Hammerstein, was expelled from the Confederation in 2006 for fraud and was subsequently found guilty of this offence by OLAF, the European Anti-Fraud Office (Kaos en la red 2007), though he was never brought to court on this count by the Spanish government.. Further accusations include the attack of a Madrid party leader by other leading activists of the same party, an incident which particularly incensed observers who accused the party of hypocrisy in failing to live up to the party's commitment to pacifism (Interview with Green activist 2009).

The Green leader who personifies the concept of personalism more than any other is Francisco Garrido, an Andalusian academic who began to lead CLV in 1993. Garrido has taken the confederation in and out of numerous alliances as a strategy to further his opportunity to be elected as a regional and then state-wide deputy. Garrido has stepped down from leading the Greens but is deeply involved in the new Equo project and continues to wield considerable influence. His name is frequently invoked by other Greens as epitomising all that is devious and backstabbing about Green politics (Interview with Green party activist 2008). These accusations may be unnecessarily harsh but reflect the personal rivalries that exist between fellow Greens from the same party.

Another prime example of the personal hostility which predominates within the Spanish Greens is the case of the founder of LVGV, Esteban Cabal. Before founding

his party in 1994, Cabal was previously a member of LV (and previously, of IU) and, over the years, has worked tirelessly for Green politics. However, his party and his motives have always been viewed with suspicion and criticised harshly by other Greens; he himself is not slow to reciprocate in this respect. Curiously, in spite of endless, ongoing hostilities, Cabal and other Green leaders frequently meet up and attempt, time and time again, to negotiate alliances. The Green political world resembles a close, but eternally warring family.

A key figure to emerge in the last few years is Florent Marcellesi, who worked for EGP in Brussels for a number of years. Marcellesi is one of the key people steering the Greens in their new different direction, namely towards the Equo solution. His view on the personalism, the 'division, fragmentation and the excessive prominence of some individuals' is that it is caused by the different Green 'families' that co-exist in Spain (Planeta Verde 2009). As he states, it is interesting that these different factions are always referred to as 'families' rather than tendencies or factions, thus emphasising the personal nature of the divisions. Tellingly, however, Marcellesi's arrival on the scene has merely led to the creation of another powerful family, one that is being financed and supported by the EGP, and his swift rise within the ranks of the PESM in Spain seems suspiciously like personalism, particularly given his close connections to the EGP.

The personalism within the Spanish Greens is yet another barrier preventing the Greens from establishing themselves as a party that is worth voting for. Meanwhile, ecologists can pursue their commitment to PE through their involvement with the broader PESM, an area that will now be addressed.

4.3 POLITICAL ECOLOGY BEYOND THE PARTIES: 1986-2010

As has been demonstrated, Spanish voters have been reluctant to vote for Green parties, despite the fact that there is a sizeable minority of people who support many of the goals of PE. In Spain, there are approximately 1,000 fully operational

environmental associations⁸³. Additionally, groups of ecologists work within other political parties, trade unions, student bodies and groups of scholars or professional environmentalists. All of these ecologists are part of the PESM. The following section will start by examining the PESM, outlining its defining characteristics as well as the collective action it undertakes. The scope of the PESM's action contradicts negative assumptions about Spain's status as a country with a scant regard for environmental matters, (Gray 2005: 699; Saurí and del Moral 2001: 361). Furthermore, this section highlights the thesis that PE – or green politics – is better represented in Spain by the movements than by the parties, largely because the movements have been able to avoid some of the difficulties faced by the parties.

The phenomenon of the PESM will subsequently be illustrated by looking briefly at the so-called 'water wars', an issue which is discussed for two reasons: firstly, it underlines the fact that Spain's key environmental issues are different from those of Northern European countries. Secondly, it also shows how the PESM's actions managed to bring about a policy shift. The third sub-section will briefly introduce a few of the best-known key players within the PESM and the final sub-section will focus on *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA), a Spanish EMO which presents a useful juxtaposition to the country's Green parties and demonstrates that a concerted effort can lead to an efficient and (mainly) cohesive Confederation.

4.3.1 The Spanish PESM

Until the mid 1990s, Spain's movement was 'localised, defensive and volatile' (*Jiménez 2005) and protest actions largely remained isolated and unable to bring about policy changes at central (or even regional) government level (an exception, as has been seen, was the anti-nuclear campaign). These features still apply to the PESM today, albeit to a lesser extent – according to Jiménez (2004) 87% of protests are local – and insufficient organisation and a failure to liaise with other groups are still routinely invoked as features of ecologism in Spain.

⁸³ It is generally agreed that this figure is very approximate. Fernández (1999: 56) says there were between 700 and 1000 environmental organisations in the 1990s. However, Jiménez (2005) says there were 3.626 registered in 1998, according to an official government source.

Throughout the 1980s and until the mid-1990s the Spanish authorities ignored and were hostile to the PESM's demands. The movement's lack of access to policy makers therefore fostered a level of contestatory collective action which, at European level, was only surpassed by Greece (Jiménez 2005). The high number of protests contradicted, and continue to contradict, the notion that environmental conflict is linked to a high level of socio-economic development and that Spain has a weak civic society and is therefore unlikely to have a strong social movement (as discussed in Chapter 3).

The PESM's propensity for collective action was strongly related to the fact that the PESM had no institutional access to the movements. PESM representatives therefore resorted to other means: in addition to resorting to unconventional actions (van der Heijden 1997: 35), they also engaged in 'conventional actions': they brought legal action against an offending body, registered complaints in the courts, and alerted the press to environmental injustices or wrongdoing. Most mobilisations were local. In small towns and villages a demonstration was the easiest way of making others aware of the situation and of attracting press coverage.

A further characteristic of the Spanish PESM is that the protest repertoire focuses on 'playfulness' rather than anger or violence. The movement is deeply rooted in its pacifist origins (there was a strong conscientious objectors' movement until 2001 when military service was abolished) and one of the key virtues propounded by Spanish society is the notion of tolerance and a stigmatisation of violence (Jiménez 2005: 167). The Spanish love of pageant ensures that each major mobilisation becomes a celebration of solidarity.

By 1990, many of the fragmented movements increasingly cooperated with each other and quite a number grouped under two important EMOs, AEDENAT and CODA, that emerged as state-wide, umbrella organisations. Both were participatory organisations (see Table 2.3 for della Porta and Diani's typology of different kinds of pressure groups or EMOs), but AEDENAT was more inclined to non-conventional protest than the latter. Furthermore, AEDENAT specialised primarily in

environmental problems derived from industrial and urban matters, whereas CODA was more conservationist in nature.

The gradual consolidation of a more coordinated PESM – increasingly better represented by major players such as AEDENAT and CODA, as well as by Greenpeace and a number of other larger NGOs or EMOs – coincided with a change in the POS. In the mid-1990s, the PESM's previous marginalisation came to an end as it became recognised as a legitimate interlocutor on behalf of environmental matters (Jiménez 2005: 189). Since this time, the leading EMOs and NGOs have participated in the policy process although this process of institutionalisation is 'fluctuating and uneven' (Jiménez 2005: 221). One reason for its uneven role is the governing elite's attitude towards the PESM.

For example, during PSOE's 2004-2008 mandate, the government appeared to embrace a pro-environmental agenda and the Minister for the Environment, Cristina Narbona, was appreciated by all ecologists for her evident commitment to this area. After the 2008 elections, the Ministry was restructured to include new areas, the newly designated head of environmental minister was someone with no environmental interest and the government largely turned its back on environmental demands.

Sometimes, and in keeping with ideas put forward by POS theory, opportunities have arisen precisely because the government is closed to the ecologists' demands. This situation arose in 1996 when the PP came to power (after 14 years of PSOE government). PSOE's fall from government led to a generational renewal in the PSOE shadow cabinet which included younger politicians, some of whom took an interest in 'new' environmental ideas which has been advocated for a long time by ecologists but were now being discussed within the EU. The more progressive PSOE politicians used the ecologists' demands to voice their opposition to the PP's policies, which disregarded environmental considerations.

Amidst this slight change in the political climate, AEDENAT and CODA merged in 1998 to become Spain's largest EMO, *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA). Since then, EA –

working with or alongside other organisations – has sustained numerous campaigns promoting better practices but also acting as a watchdog to report failures in complying with the law. As EA's spokesperson has stated, one of the prime reasons for finally creating a state-wide organisation was the need for small environmental groups to access legal expertise, to learn from others' campaigns, and to receive support from the wider confederation (Interview with Oberhufer 2005).

By the time EA was created, the PESM had changed substantially and the largely anti-nuclear, pacifist and conservationist movement had become more overtly political, arguing for a different model of society. A number of influential publications⁸⁴ helped to disseminate ideas and was one of the instruments helping to connect this diffuse but interconnected network of 'ecologists'.

Although collective action is the more visible side of the PESM, individuals and groups within the movement are involved in a wide range of activities: some EMOs, and an increasing number of professional ecologists, are increasingly working within the system in their capacity as environmental experts (for example, they sit on advisory boards and lead educational projects, to name just a couple of areas they are involved in); others are working within political parties, trade unions or universities to promote a more 'ecological' viewpoint. For example, *Red Economía Ecológica* is an association of university lecturers and researchers (with 140 members) interested in environmental economics.

In addition to working with the system, the PESM retains strong links with the grassroots movement. When cooperation with the authorities fails to produce results, the PESM is swift to mount campaigns to expose non-enforcement or infringement of the law or to organise a campaign on behalf of a particular issue.

⁸⁴ Three publications stand out for their contribution to spreading ideas about ecologism: *Ecologista* is a 'social ecology' magazine which appears about five times a year. It was founded in 1993, though in the early years it was called Gaia. When *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA) was founded, the magazine – published by EA – changed its name. *Ecología Política* is the other best known publication which promotes political ecology. Whilst the first adopts a particular ideology, the latter – whilst recognisably 'green' – includes writers who would class themselves as ecosocialists. The final – and most scholarly and prestigious publication – is *Mientras Tanto*, which rigorously promoted and discussed ideas pertaining to the alternative left, including green ideas.

Although the Spanish PESM is predicated on its local or regional identity, a number of issues have taken on a state-wide significance and have led to protests taking part all over the country at the same time. This was already the case in the 1970s when the protest against the nuclear programme was such that they reversed the decision to build more stations. However, a number of other protest issues, initially regional, have acquired national significance in recent years. One of these erupted in the wake of the *Prestige* disaster in November 2002, when the aforementioned oil tanker sank off the northwest coast of Spain spilling 20 million gallons of oil into the sea.

The Galician and central governments' failure to act appropriately in response to the crisis led to the creation of the *Nunca Máis*⁸⁵ movement, a movement which gathered momentum extremely quickly, firstly in Galicia but later throughout Spain. The protests attracted an unprecedentedly high number of supporters: the first demonstration in Santiago de Compostela on December 1st, 2002, gathered about 200,000 people, and was followed by further large demonstrations throughout Spain. As the movement grew in strength and in its opposition to the PP government, the scope of the demands increased and began to include other issues such as calling for an end to the Iraq war and for Spain to pull its troops out of Iraq. The largest demonstration, attended by over a million people, took place in Madrid on February 23rd, 2003⁸⁶.

Aguilar Fernández and Ballesteros Pena's study of the *Nunca Máis* movement (2005) provides a useful analysis of the spectacular rise and swift fall of a movement that 'fell short of the widespread expectations of political change which it had created' (2005: 106). They attribute this to the movement's inability to frame its demands in a way that would strengthen the common identity of the movement. Nevertheless, the article was written shortly after the incident. Time has restored much of *Nunca Máis*'s symbolic value, demonstrating the potential that can be

⁸⁵ 'Nunca máis' means 'never again' in Galician.

⁸⁶ In addition to organising demonstrations, rallies, concerts and other performances to raise funds, the campaign helped to raise awareness of the problem and increased media attention on the issue, thus generating a wave of solidarity which saw over 300,000 volunteers helping to clear up the oil from the entire coastline of North-West Spain.

unleashed by mobilisations (this is particularly pertinent given that Galicia is traditionally an extremely conservative and politically apathetic region).

The *Nunca Más* movement is one example of short-lived but exuberant campaigns which are a feature of the Spanish PESM. Whilst limited in their long-term impact, they certainly help to give the issue media visibility and make it imperative for the government in question to take action.

After PSOE won the elections in 2004, the size and frequency of protests abated for a number of years. Some have attributed this to a more favourable POS. PSOE was more open to the PESM, wanted to increase their expertise in environmental matters and was ready to dialogue. Others worried that a certain apathy had crept in (exemplified by the decreasing activity of the antiglobalisation movement, but also many others) or that the activism had left the streets and turned to social network sites. However, the *Democracia Real Ya* (Real Democracy Now) demonstrations in many of Spain's cities in May 2011 show that the NSMs have recaptured some of their previous momentum (perhaps not unrelated to the dramatic fall from grace of PSOE since the 2008 election). The next sub-section examines one further example of an issue which acquired prominence in a particular region but was soon embraced by the PESM at state-wide level.

4.3.2 The water wars

Water is a key issue in Spain and ideological divisions over its management abound. The 'hydraulic paradigm' (López-Gunn 2009: 375), or Franco's technologically-driven water policy, was perpetuated after the transition to democracy. New governments continued to build dams and to increase storage capacity with a twofold aim: to boost domestic electricity supply and to provide farmers with the water they needed to irrigate the soil (McFall 2002; López-Gunn 2009; Font and Subirats 2010). The need to supply water in plenty was considered necessary to boost economic growth. In 1993, the PSOE government put forward a white paper, the *Plan Hidrológico Nacional* (PHN, The National Water Plan) that proposed transferring water to Spain's dry regions. This entailed building transfer pipelines from the north

to the south of Spain, the most ambitious of which was the transfer of water from the river Ebro in the north of Spain to the southern regions.

The 1993 white paper, widely opposed by many, was rejected for a number of technical reasons. It therefore fell to the PP, which won the elections in 1996, to reintroduce the bill, which was enacted in 2001, despite numerous protests culminating in ‘The Blue March’ to Brussels. This march covered the distance from the delta of the Ebro (in Catalonia) to Brussels. Many walked the whole way; others came on bicycles or in small convoys. The march through Brussels included 15,000 protesters who had come from Spain, and is said to be the largest demonstration of people from outside Belgium. They presented a petition to the EP in which they denounced the new Act, the National Hydrological Plan (NHP) as contravening the European Water directive (El País 10/09/2001).

The project to transfer water had been rejected from the start by many groups in Aragón and Catalonia, the two regions through which the Ebro flows: ecologists (scientists as well as political activists) were opposed to the demand-based approach, and objected to the fact that much of the water destined for the south of Spain would be used to fill up swimming pools, water golf courses and irrigate agri-business crops. They were also ideologically opposed to an instrumentalist view of water (and rivers) as a resource which could be plundered with little regard for the consequences. A number of different organisations fought the plan: Greenpeace, AEDENAT and CODA were instrumental in setting up COAGRET⁸⁷ in 1995. Another important Catalan organisation, the *Plataforma en defensa de l'Ebre* (Movement in defence of the river Ebro), was particularly concerned about the negative impact of this river transfer on the river's delta. Another example was the *Fundación Nueva Cultura del Agua* (FNCA or Foundation for a New Water Culture) set up in 1998 by about 100 scientists, and led by two academics from Zaragoza University in Aragón⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ Coordinadora de Afectados por los Grandes Embalses y Traspases (Movement for People Affected by Big Reservoirs and Transfers)

⁸⁸ The academic in question was Francisco Javier Martínez Gil. Another economist from Zaragoza University, whose contributions have been key to introducing a new water management approach, is Pedro Arrojo.

The issue of water rights, in an increasingly decentralised but water-needy country, led to what have often been called the ‘Water Wars’ – yet another confrontation between the Two Spains. Aragón and Catalonia, representing the regionalist view, objected to ‘their’ water from the Ebro being used by other regions and maintained that the central government had no right to deprive them of water that was rightfully theirs – particularly as it was destined for ‘prosperous’ regions such as Murcia. Centralists maintained that the government must ensure that everyone had an equal right to water in Spain.

The ‘Water Wars’ put the issue of water management high on the agenda for many years to come and the debate and dissemination of information that was sparked by the Ebro issue spread to the rest of Spain. Although the PP enacted their bill in 2001 the protest continued unabated. When PSOE won the elections in 2004 they fulfilled their electoral promise to repeal the river transfers and to amend the PHN 2001 Act.

The mobilisations against the PHN exemplify how ecologists transformed an issue that might have remained a minority issue into a salient one by harnessing the nationalist dimension. The Water Wars acquired considerable media importance and ecologists consequently had a bigger audience when it came to propounding their demands for ‘a new water culture’, which they were able to demonstrate as being in line with progressive European and North American policy-making. As Font and Subirats state (2010), the issue also led to an advocacy coalition framework between two players – the environmentalists and those representing commercial interests who wanted water to become a paying commodity.

The new ‘culture’ has ostensibly gained considerable acceptance in mainstream society, although the ecologists’ radical aims have been diluted into a somewhat hollow discourse. For example, the theme of the 2008 Zaragoza Expo was ‘Water and Sustainable Development’, a fitting theme given that Zaragoza is the capital of Aragón and that the Ebro goes through the city centre. However, this event was viewed critically by ecologists because of the inherent contradiction in building the necessary infrastructure to host a short-lived event. The Ebro was substantially

widened in the Expo precinct and the riverbanks were tidied up (requiring the cutting down of hundreds of trees); one part of the riverbank, which was public land, was turned into a private club and golf course (Nodo 50: June 2008).

Although the Zaragoza Expo organisers were guided by commercial rather than ecological interests, the event dedicated several exhibitions to the notion of careful water management, demonstrating the extent to which the ideas of the previously marginalised ecologists have become central to political discourse. In spite of this, little has changed. Some 20 new reservoirs are under construction, and the recommendations of the European Water Directive are flouted with the excuse that Spain has suffered from unprecedented drought in recent years (*Ecologistas en Acción* 19/02/2010). Since Cristina Narbona was removed from office as Minister for the Environment in 2008, environmental priorities have slipped down the agenda. The government has gone back on its pledge to abandon river transfers and has scaled down its plans for desalination plants. 'Overall, developments both at the national and regional levels indicate that the water agenda is discontinuous and suggest that the path of policy change is anything but straightforward' (Font & Subirats 2010: no page).

The anti PHN movement may have 'won' one decisive battle against the government, but the struggle to introduce a 'new water culture' continues. Despite some apparently notable achievements, the PESM's efforts to change the government's water policy still have a long way to go but demonstrate the PESM's ability to work within society and to seize opportunities to push for change.

The following subsection will focus on EA in order to emphasise this organisation's pivotal role as not just an 'environmental' movement (and ENGO) but as an EMO that actively promotes ecologism as a political and social movement.

4.3.3 *Ecologistas en Acción*

If the income and membership of EA is compared with that of Greenpeace⁸⁹, FOE or other ENGOs, it is apparent that EA has, proportionately, a very substantial number of members in comparison with its income (see Table 4.5): EA has only about one tenth of Greenpeace's income, but about one third of its members; similarly, EA has about 80% of FOE's income but ten times their number of members. This demonstrates EA's priorities: their foremost aim is to spearhead an active social ecology movement and they try to finance this expediently, avoiding becoming a 'protest business' (Jordan & Maloney 1997) and reserving most of their time and energy to promoting social interaction at every level.

EA's funding comes from a number of sources: they collaborate with the authorities whilst being extremely selective about which projects they take on, whereas WWF/Adena and SEO are much more pragmatic about money-raising (Interview with Oberhufer 2005). Otherwise, EA's income is derived from the sale of membership dues and various commercial activities promoting social ecology (as shown in Box 4.3). Over the years, EA's dependence on public sources of funding has increased but its topmost priority remains its commitment to grassroots activism. EA's emphasis on democratic participation is paramount and they appear to have managed to avoid personalism: their leading figure, Theo Oberhuber, avoids the limelight though she is willing to appear in public in order to promote a cause.

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⁸⁹ Three Spanish ENGOs (Greenpeace, WWF/Adena and SEO/ Birdlife) have a substantial annual income of around €5 million. These figures are, however, proportionately far lower Greenpeace UK's annual income for the same year of €17 million

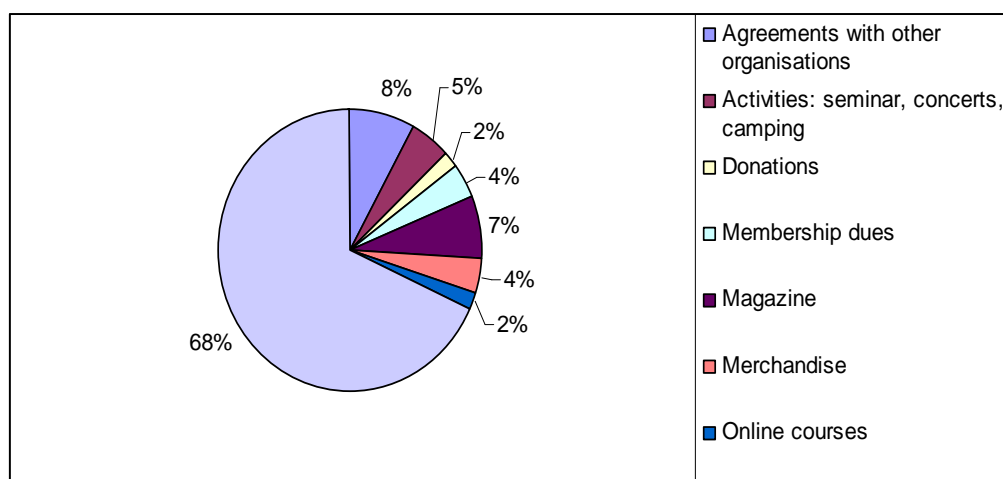
Table 4.5 Key Data on Spain's leading EMOs and ENGOS

| | Year created | Number of members (and volunteers) | Annual income (in Euros 2008) | Origin of income expressed as % of total | Usage of income expressed as % of total |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Amigos de la Tierra (FOE) | 1979 | 300 (100) | 744,096 | 82 Public funding 4 Other income 13 Private funding 1 Members and donations | 71 Development cooperation 15 Admin costs 4 Waste 4 other projects 4 Climate change 2 Food and Agriculture |
| Depana | | 1,405 (200) | 306,000 | Public funding 72 Own income 28 | 70 Campaigns and projects 30 Running costs |
| Greenpeace Spain | 1984 | 100,000 (350) | 6,416,148 | 93.25 Membership fees 4.71 donations 1.59 Financial income 0.45 Merchandising | 65 Campaigns 22 recruiting members 12 Admin costs |
| Greenpeace UK | | 221,000 | 17,000,000 | Data is included for comparative purposes | |
| WWF/ Adena | 1968 | 20,000 (600) | 5,226,325 | 56 Conservation 17 Members 11 Administration 9 Marketing 3 Financial income | 52 Projects financed by government and foundations 34 Members, donations, legacies 12 Projects and agreements with companies |
| Ecologistas en Acción | 1998 | 34,000 (7,000) | 589,109 | 60 membership dues 20 grants 20 merchandising/ money-raising events (parties) | 80 Campaigns 20 Management |
| SEO/Birdlife | 1954 | 11,000 (4,000) | 5.500.000 | 55 public funds 45 private funds | 77 Projects 13 Administration 10 Fund raising |

Source: Eroski 2009⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Latest figures for Ecologistas en Acción show that their income for 2010 was €997,108 – a substantial increase on their income two years previously.

Box 4.3: Source of Funding of Ecologistas en Acción 2010



Source: Ecologistas en Acción 2011

EA was formally established in December 1998, bringing together 300 groups which had been increasingly working together but were organisationally fragmented and lacked the necessary visibility. The structure of the confederation was established to overcome regional imbalances and to integrate all the different Spanish regions on an equal basis (a feat which CLV never succeeded in bringing about). EA fulfils all the criteria of an organisation founded along the principles of participatory democracy, with a bottom-up structure and total autonomy for the individual movements and federations⁹¹. For example, although some of the 300 groups within EA may focus on single issues (i.e. some are anxious to conserve turtles or to focus on urban regeneration or cycle paths whilst others are committed to social ecologism and therefore pursue a broad set of objectives), they all share a similar ideological outlook (as defined in EA's set of ideological principles – see Appendix G,1).

The merger of AEDENAT and CODA has created an EMO which combines the characteristics of both previous EMOs: the first was more contestatory and radical, centred on urban issues whereas the second was more concerned with rural issues such as diversity preservation. Unlike organisations like Greenpeace, the nationwide

⁹¹ EA's confederal structure means that each group is wholly autonomous when it comes to deciding its policies and actions; in order to belong to the regional confederation an association merely has to abide by a few common principles and pay a small subscription; the regional confederations are, in turn, wholly autonomous but agree to pay a small subscription to the Confederation

EA insists on its roots as a social movement and therefore avoids strategies such as direct marketing and mail order techniques to recruit new members. In contrast to Greenpeace Spain, which is very much based in Madrid and functions on a top-down principle, EA groups typically start at local level and are based on grassroots participation and action at a local level.

The organisational structure and founding principles of EA have led to a model confederal structure: the small, local groups maintain their own identity (but carry a small EA logo), pursue their own interests unhindered but enjoy economies of scale which make it possible to access legal advice, for example, as well as to benefit from the wider spheres of influence made possible by the Confederation. In short, the incentives available to the small groups (the ability to draw on legal expertise, to be associated to a well-respected organisation, and to receive financial assistance when possible) persuaded them to overcome any differences in order to fight more effectively.

Both at regional and national level, EA has quickly become a byword for ecologism (their brand name is effective and leaves no room for doubt about the purposes of the organisation). Above all, EA stands out because of its primary focus on Spanish problems, starting at local level and building up a campaign from all the different points in Spain. EA has federations in every Spanish region apart from the Balearic Islands, which opted to retain their own well established independent organisation, GOB (an ornithological and environmental defence group).

Within EA, there is great awareness and sensitivity over the issue of regional divergences and a real attempt is made to work with this issue constructively.⁹² For example, the headquarters of EA is in Madrid, and sometimes the 'Madrid' executive is perceived as making many of EA's day to day decisions (Interview with Sosa Martín 2005). The small team in Madrid works hard to minimise these perceptions by drawing on activists from across the country. The annual conferences are always held

⁹² The author attended EA's annual conference in Zarautz, Basque Country, in December 2006 as an observer. Sensitivity to regional issues and the need for all delegates to be listened to attentively was respected throughout.

in a different venue and region each year. These conferences (attended by about 200 delegates) are genuinely participatory and the movement's direction in the next year is decided on by polling all conference members. Debate is encouraged, all are listened to, and decisions on policy are reached by a vote of all delegates.

At a European level, EA is also part of several important European Union-wide environmental umbrella groups such as CAN (the Climate Action Network), Transport and Environment (promoting sustainable transport), ASEED (Action for Solidarity, Equality, Environment and Development in Europe)⁹³. A member of EA is the single Spanish member of the executive committee of the European Environment Bureau (Interview with Sosa Martín 2010) and makes a particularly weighty contribution on issues where EA has acquired considerable expertise (waste, air quality, mercury, chemical substances, water and biodiversity) (EA 2006). The EMO is also part of international organisations such as IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature), INFORSE (International Network for Sustainable Energy) and GENET (an association of ONGs opposed to genetic engineering). EA produces a substantial number of comprehensive reports on many different issues (for example, air quality in Spain and in a number of different regions and cities) (EA 2009) The expertise acquired by EA in these fora subsequently enables EA to help local and regional authorities navigate and interpret European directives, and be more aware of new developments.

Despite EA's achievements, the movement is young and problems may arise further down the line. Activists fear that the increasing degree of cooperation with local authorities and regional departments will lead to increasing institutionalisation and a compromised position. EA is very aware of this danger and, to date, seems to have avoided this risk. Most political scientists consider this progressive institutionalisation or co-optation of social movements to be inevitable (e.g. Van der Heijden 1997), but Jiménez (2005: 7) argues that these conclusions are based on Northern European and American cases and may not apply to the Spanish situation.

⁹³ It is also a member of other European bodies such as ANPED (Northern Alliance for Sustainability), EYFA (European Youth for Action) and OCEAN 2012. It is also on international bodies such as

4.4 CONCLUSION

Chapter 4 has attempted to demonstrate that the PE movement in Spain is more vigorous than popularly supposed. Despite their disarray, individual Green parties have seized opportunities to influence policy and increase voters' awareness of Green politics. On the EMO/ENG0 front, a number of organisations have managed to raise their profile substantially over the last ten years and now have a central role to play within society.

PE as an ideology has also gained a substantial number of supporters or sympathisers to such an extent that Sempere, writing in the most influential red-green journal, *Mientras Tanto*, stated that Spanish society's 'goalposts have shifted towards sustainability but the government is still stuck with old mindsets and it is now civil society that is one step ahead of the game' (*2005: 101).

Spanish ecologists have, in conclusion, undoubtedly contributed to the 'greening' of Spain over the last 40 years although it could be argued that the efforts of Spanish ecologists have simply helped to perpetuate the *status quo* by spearheading necessary changes to avert the worst consequences of the environmental crisis. Murray Bookchin was vehemently opposed to a piecemeal strategy arguing that 'partial solutions [...] deflect public attention and will therefore fail to introduce the radical changes needed to avert disaster' (1991: 3). The Spanish authorities' recent conversion to sustainable water practices is an excellent example of the inadequacy of piecemeal solutions. However, from the activists' point of view, a piecemeal strategy is preferable to doing nothing. Whilst pushing for change, raising people's awareness and gradually shifting public attitudes in one area after another, there is always the possibility of eventually achieving the necessary critical mass.

Chapter 4 has provided a brief overview of the Spanish PESM and in the course of this has stressed the importance of the regional or national issue as one of the key stumbling blocks that prevented the consolidation of a single Green party in Spain. Conversely, it has also illustrated how the regional focus can benefit ecologists.

Given the importance of the regional dimension, chapters 5 and 6 will focus on the PESM in Catalonia and Andalucía (respectively). They will examine the distinctive trajectory of the PESM in both regions, and will thereby help to demonstrate how the specific characteristics of each region have impacted significantly on the development and outcome of each region's PESM and its Green parties.

CHAPTER 5: THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY MOVEMENT IN CATALONIA

Figure 5.1 A Map of Catalonia showing its four provinces



Source: Luventicus Website 1

The previous chapter provided an overview of the main characteristics of Spain's PE movement but argued that in order to understand ecologism in Spain, and in particular Green party politics, it is important to appreciate the regional dimension of Green politics, namely the fact that the latter is predominantly organised at regional level, despite attempts to create statewide parties or projects. Chapter 3 argued that the territorial dimension of Spanish politics evolved as a result of each region developing its own political culture and party system (Pallarès et al. 1997). The latter in turn had a profound impact on the development of the country's Green parties. A comprehensive knowledge of Spanish Green politics therefore entails understanding the PE movement in each region and appreciating the crisscrossing series of links and barriers that exist between each of these Green parties. While a study of each region

is beyond the scope of this thesis, the focus on Catalonia (the present chapter) and Andalucía (the next chapter), provides an insight into the PE movement in these two very different regions.

Catalonia is one of the strongholds of the green movement in Spain. The Catalan case is of interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, it will be shown that one of the most distinctive characteristics of PE in Catalonia is the influence of Catalan nationalism on the development of this nation's Green movements and parties. Secondly, the chapter will focus on the issue of ecosocialism versus ecologism. This is an ideological and strategic tussle over positioning that is constantly played out in Green regional parties across Spain but is particularly marked in Catalonia where the emergence of an ecosocialist party, ICV (*Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds*, Initiative for Catalonia Greens), has been met with a mixed reception by ecologists.

The first section of this chapter examines Catalanism (or Catalan nationalism) which, it will be argued, resulted in the emergence of the region's very distinct political culture. The chapter will then provide an introduction to the Catalan PESM, will consider to what extent it differs from the Spanish PESM, and will briefly outline the contribution of the PESM to green politics in the region. The third section will focus on Catalonia's Green parties and will show how Green politics in the region has developed its own very distinctive Catalan variant whilst remaining linked to statewide politics. Catalan Green parties have been constrained by obstacles common to Green parties in other countries but have additionally contended with the nationalist and ecosocialist question.

5.1 CATALONIA'S REGIONAL SPECIFICITY

5.1.1 *Catalonia: a nation*

Catalonia is Spain's sixth largest region but the second most populated, with over seven million inhabitants (about a sixth of the Spain's total population); it is also the

region which, until recently, contributed most to the country's GDP⁹⁴. The region's economic success is generally attributed to its traditional importance as an industrial and business centre; much of this activity is concentrated in the 'metropolitan region' surrounding Barcelona which concentrates 70% of the region's population (CIDEU: 2010).

The region's geographical closeness to France, its traditional cultural links with the rest of Europe (assiduously fostered to emphasise the region's autonomy from Madrid) and its relative prosperity mean that, for at least a century, Catalonia has liked to think of itself as having more in common with other European countries than the rest of Spain. If Spain was, until recently, characterised as being a nation which was underdeveloped within the European context, Catalonia has been categorised as a forward-looking, prosperous and enterprising developed 'nation'.

During the early years of the transition Spain's political class was anxious 'to accommodate the aspirations of regions with nationalist movements (Colino 2008: 578).' Foremost amongst these regions was Catalonia, which had long nursed a wish to reacquire the devolved powers it had been granted during the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939). In addition, the desire to be recognised as a distinct 'nation' had begun to gather force from the middle of the 19th century, which saw a growing interest in promoting the Catalan language as the principal symbol of Catalan identity. The importance of Catalonia's status as a nation was based on historical precedent: from 988-1714 Catalonia had been a *quasi* independent kingdom, loosely connected to the Kingdom of Castille but retaining its own laws, courts, government, royal mint, language and traditions (Castells 1997: 43). Catalans are keen to point to the legitimacy of their claim to be a 'nation' by citing not only their past history but by also pointing out that within the European Union there are numerous countries or nations that are smaller than Catalonia (for example the Irish Republic and Belgium).

A majority of Catalans want more devolved powers for the region, but fall short of favouring independence (Castells 1997: 49; Guibernau 1999; Keating 1996). Both

⁹⁴ In March 2010 Catalonia was overtaken by Madrid which has now become the Spanish region with the greatest GDP (El Mundo 2010).

Guibernau and Castells talk of Catalonia's distinctive culture and Castells refers to Catalonia as one of the most cited examples of successful self-government short of independence. The region has promoted a very distinct cultural policy and has its own television, radio and newspapers; it also has a health service that is substantially different from that of the rest of Spain. Furthermore, in its business ventures and its relations with the EU, the Catalan government has insisted on distancing itself from Spain wherever possible, to the extent that 'Catalonia almost seems like a separate state' (Castells 1997: 49).

Whilst most scholars agree with Guibernau and Castells's assertions that Catalans do not want to secede from Spain, a recent study by Dowling (2009) argues forcefully that events over the last few years – in particular, the Statute issue (see Chapter 3.3.1 which explains the issue surrounding Catalonia's new *Estatut* or regional constitution) – have radicalised the region, which has therefore seen growing support for independence. After the Constitutional Court announced its verdict on the Statute in June 2010, *La Vanguardia*, a conservative Catalan newspaper, commissioned an opinion poll showing that, in July 2010, support for independence had reached 47% whilst 36% were against the proposal (*La Vanguardia* 18/07.2010); by September 2010 this had fallen to 40% in favour of independence (with 45% against the motion) (*La Vanguardia* 07/09/2010).

It remains to be seen whether events over the last few years will have a lasting consequence on Catalans' position on independence. At the very least it demonstrates the depth of feeling which exists in the region over the issue of nationhood. A longer-term perspective on the nationalist issue is expressed in regular surveys carried out in Catalonia by CIS (the Spanish Centre for Sociological Research). Results over the last 15 years (see Table 5.1 below) indicate that, by and large, Catalans are opposed to the idea of seceding from the Spanish state and are comfortable with their dual identity.

Table 5.1 Percentage of people surveyed in Catalonia who agreed with the following statements relating to national identity

| | Year | | | |
|---|------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1995 | 2001 | 2005 | 2010 |
| 1. The Spanish state should allow the regions to become independent nations if they wish to take this step. | --- | 18% | 20% | 23.6% |
| 2. I have a single identity as a Catalan | 12 | 15.4% | 14.3% | 13.7% |
| 3. I have a single identity as a Spaniard | 16.8 | 14.7% | 7.7 | 7.8 |
| 4. I have a dual identity as Catalan and Spanish (to a greater or lesser degree) | 69.6 | 67.9% | 76.4% | 69.7% |
| 5. Spain is my country | --- | 35.1% | 34.1% | 34.7% |

Source: adapted from CIS Surveys 2137 (1995), 2410 (2001), 2610 (2005) and 2829 (2010)

Nevertheless, as the CIS surveys show, over the years there has been a slow, steady rise in favour of independence (see statement 1), and a decline in the number of those who do not identify with Catalonia (see statement 3). Although only a minority theoretically favour independence, this opinion remains in the minority, albeit a sizeable minority. Similarly, only 34.7% consider Spain to be ‘their country’.

In short, Catalanism means full independence from Spain for some, whereas for the majority it means greater devolved powers and a recognition of the region’s status as a ‘nation’. Since the setting up of the State of the Autonomies, the Catalan authorities have used Catalanism as the driver of a successful, modern, democratic and inclusive Catalonia. This image is reinforced by the regional media, the devolved education system and by the importance accorded to local festivals and celebrations. This nation building (Keating 1996: 129) has, according to some, fostered a moderate nationalism which is ‘thus almost a hegemonic ideology, while containing enough variants to encompass most of the active population’ (Keating 2001b: 225). Even PSC (*Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya*, the Catalan variant of PSOE) has embraced Catalanism. This is illustrated by the fact that the *Estatut* (or Catalan

Constitution)⁹⁵ was drafted and enacted by the so-called ‘Tripartite’ government. This government, which was in power from 2003-2010, was a left-wing nationalist coalition headed by PSC but also including ICV and ERC (*Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* or the Republican Left of Catalonia, a left-wing nationalist party).

Although the Catalan institutions have successfully established Catalanism’s ‘ideological hegemony’ (Keating 2001b) within the region and have promoted the region’s distinct identity internationally, notions within the region relating to the degree of autonomy or independence which Catalonia should have are constantly shifting because nationalism ‘is more malleable than the primordialists would have us believe’ (Gunther, Montero & Botella quoted in Swenden 2006: 275).

Despite the institutional and cultural dominance of Catalanism, many inhabitants of the region have a dual identity, still speak Spanish (50% of the population), reject the notion of an independent Catalonia or are completely indifferent to it. The metropolitan area of Barcelona is markedly less nationalist than the rest of the region, partly because many immigrants and Spaniards from other areas of Spain have settled in or near the city. Within the city, there are many who are quite hostile to Catalanism. In spite, therefore, of the open, inclusive society portrayed by academics such as Guibernau (1997), a more sombre interpretation recognises that there is an important cleavage within Catalan society. At present, the Catalanist view is politically dominant and dissent is viewed as treachery. These tensions, as has been mentioned, permeate Catalan politics and society and have impacted on the development of the region’s Green parties, as will be seen in section 5.3 of this chapter.

5.1.2 Catalonia’s party system

Catalonia’s distinct political culture and traditions have resulted in a meso-government political arena which differs from that of other Spanish regions. Since

⁹⁵ A good example of official and prevalent Catalanist discourse is provided by the recently passed new Catalan Statute of Autonomy (2006) – which was supported by all of Catalonia’s political parties apart from the PP and a small, new (anti-nationalist) party called *Ciudadanos-Partido de la Ciudadanía* (Citizens – The Citizenship Party). Much of this text resonates with Catalan resentment and opposition to the centralist designs of the Spanish state

1980, when the first elections to the Catalan parliament were held, a substantially different party system has evolved, although it retains statewide processes such as the electoral system and a number of other institutional and cultural traits which it shares with the rest of Spain.

As previously mentioned, (see Chapter 3.3.3), a number of nationalist regions deviate from the statewide pattern of being dominated by the two hegemonic parties, PSOE and PP. Catalonia is a case in point. The two main parties in this region are PSC (the Catalan variant of PSOE) and *Convergència i Unió* (CiU, Convergence and Union), Catalonia's centre-right nationalist party. In addition to these two parties, three other parties regularly win seats both in regional and general elections: PP, and also two non-statewide parties (NSWP), namely ERC and ICV. Table 5.2 sets out the election results of these parties both in the statewide and the regional elections in order to illustrate two related points: the NSWP's share of votes obviously changes according to conjunctural factors but, by and large, PSOE and PP increase their share of the vote in the general elections whilst the NSWP attract more voters in the regional elections (Pallarés, Montero & Llera 1997: 167).

Table 5.2 General and Regional Election Results in Catalonia

| | 2004 General Elections | | 2008 General Elections | | 2006 Regional Elections | | 2010 Regional Elections | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| | % | Seats | % | Seats | % | Seats | % | Seats |
| PSC-PSOE | 39.47 | 21 | 45.39 | 25 | 26.82 | 37 | 18.32 | 28 |
| CiU | 20.78 | 10 | 20.93 | 10 | 31.52 | 48 | 38.47 | 62 |
| ERC | 15.89 | 8 | 7.83 | 3 | 14.03 | 21 | 7 | 10 |
| PP | 15.58 | 6 | 16.4 | 8 | 10.65 | 14 | 12.33 | 18 |
| ICV-EUiA ⁹⁶ | 5.84 | 2 | 4.92 | 1 | 9.52 | 12 | 7.39 | 10 |

Sources: Gencat (Catalan Government) Website 2011

⁹⁶ EUiA is *Esquerra Unida i Alternativa* (The United and Alternative Left), IU's counterpart in Catalonia. IC (before it was Green) started out as IU's equivalent in Catalonia but gradually changed direction, alienating the communist elements and taking on a coalition with Els Verds. By 1997, several groups of disaffected communists founded EUiA. After a few years in which they competed against each other, the two parties decided to form an electoral alliance in 2003 and since then have regularly presented joint lists at every election.

As Table 5.2 shows, in the general elections PSOE wins by far the most seats; however, at regional level the smaller, regional parties (CiU, ERC and ICV) do significantly better resulting in a five-party system which increases the likelihood of coalition governments. Until 2003, CiU controlled the Catalan regional government (although from 1995 onwards they didn't have an absolute majority and relied on PP to be able to govern). From 2003-2010, although CiU continued to win more seats than PSC, the latter's coalition with ERC and ICV meant that the *Tripartit* (or three party government) was in power for seven years (until CiU won the regional elections in 2010 with an absolute majority). Although ICV was the minority party in the *Tripartit*, it was therefore in government for seven years, a position that has given ecosocialism a certain prominence within Catalonia, but also beyond the region (ICV has had an MEP since 2004 and one or two deputies in the Spanish *Congreso*). Furthermore, although Barcelona City Council is traditionally a PSC stronghold, the socialist party has at times had to form post-electoral pacts with other left-wing parties. It governed with ICV⁹⁷ and ERC between 1995-1999 and 2003-2011, once again giving the ecosocialists access to influencing policy⁹⁸. ICV's contribution whilst in government will be examined at a later point in this chapter.

Catalonia's five-party system deviates from the Spanish predominantly two-party system dominated by PP and PSOE. As we will see, a greater plurality has undoubtedly opened up opportunities for ICV, particularly at regional level; however, the remaining 'Green-Green' parties in Catalonia remain excluded from the political arena and blame this in part on the unfairness of the electoral system as well as on the extensive range of competing options. These issues will be tackled in Section 5.3; before that, the following section looks at PE in Catalonia, focusing particularly on aspects that distinguish the movement here from its Spanish counterpart.

⁹⁷ At that time, the party had already incorporated most of the region's Greens, but the latter had not yet been absorbed into a single party. The 'coalition' at that time was therefore called IC-EV (Iniciativa per Catalunya – Els Verds).

⁹⁸ In the May 2011 municipal elections, the *Tripartito* was defeated by CiU which, with support from PP, now heads the city's local government.

5.2 CATALONIA'S ECOLOGISTS

The ecologist movement that emerged in the early 1970s arose from local associations such as nature conservancy groups, ornithology clubs, a rambling club, choirs and neighbourhood associations (Mora i Ticó 2004). Many groups not only met regularly to pursue their particular pastimes but used these meetings to speak Catalan and to mobilise opposition to the dictatorship. Hostility to the regime was particularly fierce in Catalonia, because the the region's distinct identity was not recognised and the speaking of Catalan was forbidden. Early ecologists were nationalists, anti-system, left-wing, pacifist, feminist and anti-nuclear.

Catalonia was an important industrial centre concentrated around Barcelona, and, from the outset, the PESM was based on a rejection of industrialism and productivism. Catalonia, traditionally Spain's most economically developed region, had experienced further industrial development in the 1960s; this benefited big companies and Spain's economy, but clearly had a negative impact on the region. Barcelona's industrial expansion required extra labour (immigrants from the south of Spain) who could only find accommodation in the city's growing shanty towns, whilst the authorities ignored the plight of these incomers or the strain which this put on the city's infrastructure and its social fabric (Miranda 1998). In the 1970s, the river Llobregat, which flows through Barcelona, was the second most polluted river in Europe (García, Reixac & Vilanova 1979: 160): this attests not only to the level of industrialisation taking place along its banks but also to the prevailing *laissez-faire* culture. It is against this backdrop of unregulated economic development (juxtaposed with a large rural area that still depended on the primary sector) that one has to understand the beginnings of the environmental movement in Catalonia.

However, the issue that did more to galvanise Catalan ecologism than any other in the early days was the anti-nuclear movement (García, Reixac & Vilanova 1979: 222). The Spanish government had embarked on a nuclear programme, avowedly to provide energy but also for defence purposes. Catalonia's first nuclear power station, Vandellós I, opened in 1972 (it was the third of 37 planned power stations in Spain).

Franco's death in 1975 and the subsequent legalisation of political activity in 1976 unleashed the strong opposition which existed to the nuclear programme. Collective action against the building of a nuclear power station in Ametllà (in Tarragona, in the south of Catalonia) led to that particular scheme being dropped in 1976. The anti-nuclear campaigns continued unabated and the CANC (*Comité Antinuclear de Catalunya* or Catalan Antinuclear Committee), a very influential organisation for many Catalan ecologists, was created in 1977.

The Catalan PESM suffered from the same problems as its counterparts in the rest of Spain. The movement was diffuse, with about 300 groups scattered throughout the territory (Userda 1977). Even so the movement could boast many achievements. A weekly Catalan language environmental weekly magazine, Userda, was launched in 1976 and the movement engaged in numerous demonstrations and campaigns to try to change hearts and minds. The main campaigns, apart from the anti-nuclear ones, included sustained objection to a number of landfill sites and incineration plants as well as campaigns to protect rural areas destined for development (CRES 2010). One campaign, centered around the village of Gallecs, a rural area near Barcelona, surrounded by housing developments. When it was decided to build a new town with 150,000 inhabitants in Gallecs in 1977, a movement was set up to fight the proposal: this resulted in numerous protests but, above all, in a long struggle that was to become a way of life for many activists. About a hundred activists took over a number of abandoned farmhouses in the area and squatted there for a couple of years. Numerous well-attended festivals were organised in defence of the area, and famous artists such as the theatre company *Els Joglars* performed there (Galdón 2006). By 1983, the movement petered out but had by then managed to deflect interest in the development.⁹⁹

However, the aforementioned lack of structure convinced a number of ecologists of the importance of forming a Green party in order to have a coherent political platform. The Catalan green party, *Alternativa Verda*, was founded in 1983, a year

⁹⁹ When the development of the area was again proposed years later, a new environmental movement, Cánem, successfully prevented the plan from going forward.

before its Spanish counterpart. As in the rest of Spain, most Catalan ecologists were opposed to the creation of a Green party. As the next section will show, this was just one of many problems facing this new party.

Over the years, the PESM has gradually changed. Although it is still made up of a large and diffuse network of environmental NGOs, associations and movements, these are now better connected to each other, not only because they have cooperated more efficiently with each other from the mid-1980s onwards but also, more recently, because of the constant networking facilitated by the internet and by social network sites. Lists published by the Catalan government, and which are by no means exhaustive, cite about 220 different organisations in Catalonia, the main ones being Greenpeace, *Ecologistas en Acción Catalunya* (EAC), *Ecologistes de Catalunya* (EdC)¹⁰⁰ and DEPANA. The first two are statewide organisations whilst the two latter operate solely within Catalonia. EdC, a confederation of groups which restructured itself in 1998, is effectively the Catalan counterpart to EAC¹⁰¹. Many ecologists in Catalonia perceive EAC to be a Spanish interloper, preferring to belong to a Catalan federation (Interviews with Puig 2007 and Vilanova 2007; correspondence with EdC 2008). EdC often takes a very different position from EAC. For example, EAC supports wind power unequivocally, given the region's present reliance on nuclear power – 60% of the region's energy source is based on nuclear power and 40% of Spain's nuclear capacity comes from Catalonia. EAC's position is hotly contested by EdC who question EAC's model of development (correspondence with EdC 2008). EdC is Catalonia's main representative within the European Environmental Bureau (EEB). Catalonia's largest EMO is DEPANA, the Catalan equivalent of WWF-Adena.

These federations or large organisations support the work of single issue PE movements which also abound in the region. The main issues which are regularly at the centre of many campaigns emphasise the desire of ecologists to prioritise a

¹⁰⁰ This umbrella group of Catalan EMOs was previously called *l'Associació d'Entitats Ecologistes de Catalunya* (AEEC)

¹⁰¹ Although *Ecologistas en Acción* has had considerable success throughout almost the entire Spanish state, there are two exceptions: in the Balearic Islands they already had an EMO called GOB and therefore decided not to join EA; in Catalonia, they are active in Barcelona and in transmitting Catalan concerns back to EA, but have are made up of only a few local groups.

different kind of society, one that values people's wellbeing and the planet's sustainability over and above the push for continuous economic growth. These issues include the following: 'NO to the MAT', a large campaign against the building of high voltage power lines intended to bring electricity across the Pyrenees from France to Catalonia; the need to build a sustainable transport system, to halt road-expansion programmes and push for the bicycle as an optimal form of transport, particularly in cities (Puig i Boix 1999). Pollution levels due to car traffic in Barcelona regularly exceed EU limits and yet 40.6% of all journeys in Barcelona use the car (whilst 14.3% use public transport and 45.1% go on foot or by bicycle) (InfoCatalunya 2010). Other ongoing issues have been the nuclear power issue – the region has three nuclear power stations (the fourth one, Vandellós I, was decommissioned after it suffered the second worst nuclear power accident in Europe in 1989).

In addition to these organisations, Catalonia – and in particular Barcelona – has been at the forefront of movements such as ATTAC, the counterglobalisation movement, and a group called *Temps de Re-Voltes*, a movement promoting Serge Latouche's (2004) contraction (or degrowth) economics. In the summer of 2008 this group spent 78 days travelling around Catalonia on bicycles, on the 'March for De-growth', raising awareness of this issue wherever they set up camp.

Catalonia's ecologists have not, of course, achieved their goals but, looking back over the 40 years of struggle, there is no doubt that the movement has been able to exercise some influence on policy makers. As well as slowing down the region's nuclear programme, the efforts of ecologists have brought about a large number of policy changes. For example, the long battle to prevent the transfer of the river Ebro led to a campaign to promote a 'new water culture'. Activists and scientific experts worked together and, with the help of the latter, presented a convincing case for policy change. After 2003, the Tripartite regional government (that included ICV and ERC) encouraged the Catalan water board to collaborate with the organisation promoting the 'new water culture', the *Fundación para una Nueva Cultura del Agua* (Sempere 2005: 100).

As a result of this collaboration, in September 2010, the Catalan Water Agency agreed on a new water management plan which has been hailed by a well-known Catalan ecologist and academic, Narcís Prat, as ‘an excellent plan, the best in Spain, without a doubt, and as good as any other European plan’ (*Prat 2010). Whilst in power, ICV also pushed for a number of other environmental measures. They were instrumental in introducing Spain’s first municipal bicycle scheme in Barcelona, set up many bicycle lanes, set up new nature reserves in the region and rejected the possibility of a nuclear waste site being installed in the region. ICV’s achievements will be revisited in Section 5.4, which looks at ICV in greater depth.

The Tripartite government was also behind the banning of bullfighting in the region (in July 2010). The bill was presented to the regional parliament as a ‘popular legislative initiative’ (PLI) (i.e. the proposal was initiated by civil society, namely a number of anti-bullfighting NGOs as well as numerous ecologists, ICV and ERC), and was duly considered by the parliament which voted to phase out bullfighting in Catalonia by 2013 (The Guardian 28/07/2010). The results look like a victory for animal rights and PE but, in Colm Tóibín’s words, have more to do with satisfying

... a deep need in the Catalan soul. Killing off bullfighting offers Catalans a lovely and easy revenge for various humiliations heaped on them by Madrid in recent times; it also fulfils their deep anxiety to be understood and appreciated throughout the world as a separate nation, a place with a different identity and a different sensibility from the rest of Spain (Tóibín 2010).

However, despite Catalonia’s geographical and cultural proximity to northern Europe – and the assumption (of non-Catalans and Catalans alike) that it is environmentally progressive – this is arguably not the case. Tello, a Catalan ecologist and economist, questions the assumption that Catalonia is an environmental leader within Spain by indicating a number of areas in which it lags behind (2010). The region emits more greenhouse gases than other regions and has been particularly slow in developing renewable energy. The latest regional Energy Plan has agreed to maintain the region’s three nuclear power plants in operation (this plan was agreed by the Tripartite government which included ICV). Tello also points out that Catalonia grows more genetically modified (GM) crops than any other region: Spain accounts

for 80% of the EU's GM crops and, in 2010, Catalonia grew more GM crops than any other region, about 25,000 hectares – Spain's total GM production covered 70,000 hectares (MARM 2010). Furthermore, because GM crops are incompatible with organic crops, since 2002 Catalonia has lost 95% of its organic maize (Tello 2010). However, Tello's critique has to be set against figures provided for organic farming in Catalonia between 2000-2010. These show an exponential rise in the number of organic producers during that period (327 producers in 2000 as against 1247 in 2010) and in the number of hectares farmed organically (only 10,827 hectares in 2000 as compared with 83,506 by 2010) (CCPAE 2011).

In short, despite the activism and expertise of the PESM, with some very limited support from ICV in government, only piecemeal changes have been achieved, thus reinforcing the PESM's determination to continue to fight for a radical transformation of the political system.

Having provided a brief introduction of the PESM in Catalonia, the next section examines Catalonia's Green parties. In order to distinguish between both the ecosocialist and ecologist variants of the region's Green parties, the term Catalan Greens will be used to include all of the region's Greens, including ICV; the term Green-greens will be reserved to refer to the small Green parties which remained outside the ICV coalition which was established in 1995.

5.3 THE CATALAN GREEN PARTIES

This section will provide a diachronic overview of the Catalan Greens and will divide the account into two discrete periods: the first ten years (1983-1993) followed by the period running from 1993 till the present. As this account will show, the Catalan case shows similarities to the overall situation of the Spanish Greens. Party fragmentation is clearly at the root of their problem. However, whereas it is almost impossible to separate out the multiple issues leading to the fragmentation of the Spanish Greens, it is easier to understand how the division of the Catalan Greens came about.











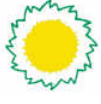




A bewildering number of Green parties (approximately 22¹⁰²) have, at different times, stood for election in Catalonia since *Alternativa Verda* (AV, Green Alternative), the first Catalan Green party, was founded in 1983. However, this figure is misleading and is due to the constant re-grouping and re-naming of a smaller number of relatively constant factions. In order to present a more manageable picture, this study has dispensed with the 22 different names and has simplified the information by sometimes maintaining the same name, where feasible, for each faction (for example, AV has been through a number of names but has returned to its original one).

Eight distinct green formations have existed in Catalonia, and these are set out in Table 5.3. The identity of most of these parties is confusing, as they all include either the word ‘green’ or ‘ecologist’ in their name. A further confusion arises from the fact that some of these parties are statewide parties but appear under a different (Catalan) name. Table 5.3 provides a basic summary of each of the Green parties that have contested elections in Catalonia. The red symbols help to identify each party simply so that when they appear later as part of a coalition it is easier to understand which parties are included in that coalition (for example, see Catalan Green election results in Appendix H).

In order to appreciate the increasing fragmentation of the Catalan Greens, Table 5.4 shows the year each party was created, provides a chronological timeline and notes whether the party split, regrouped or died out. Any parties which stretch into 2010 are still extant.

¹⁰² This figure – which is approximate and likely to change - includes all ‘Green’ political formations registered as parties which have stood in either the national, regional or European elections. It does not include smaller local parties.

Table 5.3 Main Catalan Green Parties

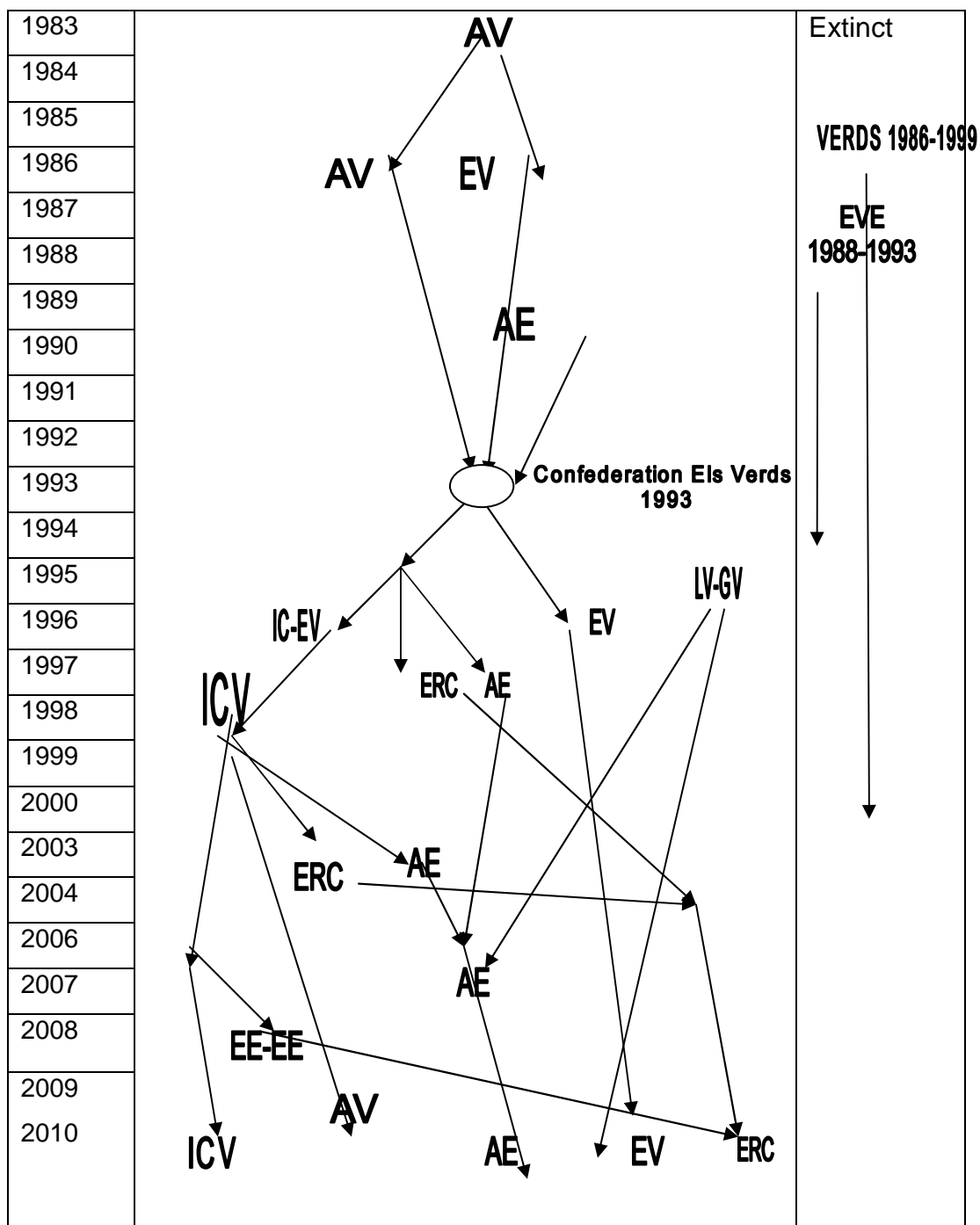
| | | |
|---|---|--|
|  | <p><i>ALTERNATIVA VERDA</i> THE GREEN ALTERNATIVE</p> <p>AV </p> | First Green party in Spain. Founded in 1983. It is Catalanist, econationalist and bioregional in inspiration. Once the main party, it is now a tiny faction which only stands in a few areas. |
|  | <p><i>Els Verds</i>¹⁰³ The Greens</p> <p>EV </p> | The Catalan variant of the Spanish 'centralist' green party, <i>Los Verdes</i> . This has been through many changes but remains within the Spanish Confederation of the Greens |
|  | <p><i>Els Verds- L'Alternativa Ecologista</i> The Greens – The Ecologist Alternative</p> <p>EV-AE </p> | <p>Against coalitions with mainstream parties. A Green-green party that is slightly conservationist. Tends to stand ONLY when there is no alternative pursuing the same lines as itself (in favour of a statewide party).</p> <p>Recently, is commonly in alliance with EV and even, in 2011 elections, with EV-GV</p> |
|  | <p><i>Els Verds- Grup Verd</i> The Greens – Green Group</p> <p>EV-GP </p> | A statewide Green party established in 1994, as a result of the creation of the Confederation. Always run by one man, Esteban Cabal. |
|  | <p><i>Partit Ecologista de Catalunya</i> VERDE</p> <p>The Catalan Ecology Party GREEN </p> | Impostor or rogue party: fiefdom of one man and died out in mid 1990s. |
|  | <p><i>Els Verds Ecologistes:</i> The Green Ecologists</p> <p>EVE </p> | Another rogue party, the political manifestation of a sect called SILO. Ceased to exist in 1993 |
|  | <p><i>Els Verds – Esquerra Ecologista</i> The Greens – the Left-wing Ecologists</p> <p>EV-EE </p> | This group have operated within Els Verds, but for a time were also with the Catalan Nationalist Republican Left party, ERC. They were then part of ICV but have now left this formation. They are no longer a party but an association. |
|  | <p><i>Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds</i> Initiative for Catalonia – Greens</p> <p>ICV</p> | Originally IC, a left-wing coalition (largely composed of communist parties and without the green label), ICV officially became ecosocialist in 1996. It is an important small party, one of three parties of the 'left' in the governing coalition at regional level in Catalonia from 2003-2010. |

Sources: adapted from Lozano 2008 and party websites

¹⁰³ *Els Verds* is Catalan for *Los Verdes*. All party names in Catalonia are in Catalan (and the same applies in other regions that have their own language). This makes the use of logos even more important in order to avoid confusion.

Figure 5.2 The fragmentation of the Catalan Greens

(For the identity of parties, see Table 5.3. Figures on the left show the year in which a party was created)



Sources: adapted from Cabal 1996; García 2007; Catalan Government Website

5.3.1 The Catalan Greens (1983-1993)

The first Green Catalan party, *Alternativa Verda* (AV), founded in 1983 and one of the founding members of LV, fell out with the latter at the very first LV conference, held in Cardedeu (Catalonia) in February, 1985. Their disagreement concerned AV's insistence that Catalonia should be recognised in LV's statutes as a 'nation' and that LV should be a confederation which embraced the principles of eco-regionalism. Although LV were ideologically in favour of adopting a decentralised approach and were in favour of creating a Green federation, they were nonetheless committed to founding a single statewide party in order to consolidate their presence throughout Spain whilst, at the same time, avoiding an excessive emphasis on nationalism which ran counter to the Greens' commitment to an internationalist approach (Viader 2010: 30). By June of 1985, negotiations had broken down: AV had withdrawn from LV and had decided to stand independently at the general elections in June 1986.

From then on, despite repeated talks and attempts to form strategic alliances at election time, the nationalist issue continued to rankle with AV's leaders and they maintained their independence from LV, although negotiations between the two parties were constant (Viader 2010). AV's secession meant that the Catalan Greens began to fragment almost from the outset, as some Catalan Greens remained with LV; furthermore, AV embarked on a course of action which affected not only the Catalan Greens but also had consequences for LV.

This course of action was AV's creation, in 1987, of the statewide *Confederación de Los Verdes*¹⁰⁴, an attempt to set up a rival Confederal Green party. The confederation was formed by four parties which had withdrawn from LV: it included AV, a splinter party from the Madrid Greens, and also the Basque and Galician branches of LV. For a couple of years, therefore, LV had no presence in the Basque Country or in Galicia and a weakened presence in Madrid and Catalonia; when these regional parties returned to LV, they remained recalcitrant, fuelling bad feeling within the party.

¹⁰⁴ This confederation should not be confused with the later *Confederación de Los Verdes*, established by *Los Verdes* in 1995; although they are 'legally' the same party – i.e. the party was first registered with the Spanish Ministry of the Interior in 1987 – the first confederation ceased to operate in 1989 when three of the founding parties left the confederation and re-grouped themselves with *Los Verdes*.

Within Catalonia, AV's decision resulted in the parallel existence of two 'real' Green parties, AV and EV (*Els Verds*, the Catalan name for LV). Whilst some activists prioritised the nationalist issue and were loyal to AV and its confederal principles, others favoured remaining within the LV federation. As the election results demonstrate (see Appendix H, A-D), the Catalan Green vote was fragmented because of the same two rogue parties (*Els Verds Ecologistes*¹⁰⁵ and VERDE) that operated throughout Spain; however, it was further fragmented because the core Green vote was split between the radical 'nationalists' and the moderate nationalists (very few Catalan ecologists are not nationalists). Consequently, in the 1989 general election, when (as demonstrated in Chapter 4) support for Green parties was at its highest throughout Spain, the Greens in Catalonia achieved an aggregated vote of 2.53%. However, this was split four ways: AV obtained 0.82% of the votes; EV polled 0.62%; the two rogue parties obtained 1.09% between them.

Because of the fragmentation of the vote, the Catalan Greens were therefore unable to harness effective support for a viable ecology party in these early years in spite of clear evidence of potential support for a Green party. This support was demonstrated by the results of the 1989 EP elections in Catalonia, where the aggregated Green vote came to 4.42% (see Appendix H, D).

The Catalan Greens felt that, if they could only achieve unity and discredit the rogue parties, they would be certain to achieve some electoral success. Their optimism about future prospects was shared by a leading research institute in Catalonia, the ICPS (*Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials* or Institute of Political and Social Science), which in 1991 asked a team of political scientists to research the Greens in Catalonia. The resulting paper stated:






This study hypothesises that there is a 'green political space' in Catalonia, and also in Spain, which is very likely to grow in the not so distant future. There has been a little delay in its development, but this is understandable given the political system it is part of (Barás 1992: 2).

¹⁰⁵ This party is the same as the statewide rogue party *Los Verdes Ecologistas*, but going by its Catalan name.

Barás's study indicated that, in order to achieve their potential, the Catalan Greens had to overcome a serious problem, namely the proliferation of parties and the ensuing confusion of the electorate. Her view was that the fragmentation was not due to Catalanism, the fundi/realo dichotomy or strategic issues such as whether to ally with other parties or not. In her view it was due to 'personal problems between the different leaders, very understandable in a small, closed party which had been operating without much success for about ten years' (1992: 3). Barás's analysis of the situation in 1991 is corroborated by Cabal (1996), Karamichas (2004), by numerous articles in the press and interviews with green activists (Josep Puig; Santi Vilanova; Gustau Barbat; Antoni García). However, Barás's analysis omits to mention why there were so many 'personal problems between the leaders', an issue that could largely be attributed to the tensions and clashes that arose because of differing views on the importance of Catalan nationalism, as numerous sources have indicated in interviews, and as a Catalan Green makes manifestly clear in his account of these early years (Viader 2010). Similarly, Barás's analysis discounts one of the key problems besetting the greens in the first 10 years of the party's existence, namely the fact that the fragmentation was greatly aggravated by the existence of the two 'rogue' parties. The hostility between these two parties and the two 'real' Green parties (AV and EV) was by no means attributable to 'personal problems between the leaders' (the Catalanist issue is further explored later on in this section).

In a bid to see off the rogue parties and to maximise their chances of winning a seat, four Green parties (including AV and EV) unified in time for the 1993 general election as *Els Verds (Confederació Ecologista de Catalunya)*, and were predicted to win at least one seat. In the event, the Catalan coalition suffered the same fate as LV throughout Spain (see Chapter 4), despite the party's unity and waning support for the rogue parties. Despite expectations, the Catalan Greens saw their share of the vote fall substantially to 1%. Table 5.4 shows the falling interest in a Green option between 1989 and 1993. At the first of these elections the Greens obtained an aggregated 2.53% of the vote whereas in 1993 they only obtained 1.57%. In short, after ten years, the Catalan Greens had proved incapable of winning a seat and had seen their support peak and fall off.

Table 5.4 General election results for Catalan Green-Green Parties

| Party | % 1989 | % 1993 |
|---|--------|--------|
| Els Verds (Confederació Ecologista de Catalunya)  | --- | 1.0 |
| Els Verds – Llista Verda  | 0.62 | --- |
| Alternativa Verda –MEC  | 0.82 | |
| Els Verds Ecologistes  | 0.77 | 0.32 |
| Partit Ecologista de Catalunya VERDE  | 0.32 | 0.25 |
| Total Green Votes | 2.53% | 1.57% |

Source: Spanish Ministry of the Interior Web-site 2010; (See Table 5.3 which denotes each party and its corresponding symbol)

There is no doubt that the Catalan Greens (like the Spanish Greens) were constrained by a number of different factors but the issue which dominated the first ten years was that of Catalan nationalism. The ideological provenance of many activists within AV was uncompromisingly nationalist. One of the party's leaders, Santiago Vilanova¹⁰⁶, advocated eco-nationalism and bioregionalism in the 1970s (García, Reixac and Vilanova 1979) and his nationalist sympathies were evident: in 1980 he stood as an ERC candidate in the first elections to the regional parliament. In the early 1980s, AV party activists were also very close to other pro-independence left-wing parties such as the *Moviment d'Esquerra Nacionalista* (Movement of the Nationalist Left).¹⁰⁷

Viader, a leading founder of the Greens in Catalonia (but one who chose to retain his allegiance to LV, or EV as it is known in Catalan) highlights the tensions relating to the Catalan issue in two books which review ecologism in Catalonia until 1993 (2005; 2010). According to these accounts and the opinions of a number of Green activists in Catalonia (Vilanova 2007; Puig 2007), the Green nationalists' demands for a confederal party that recognised the full autonomy of the Catalan nation were never considered seriously, either by LV or, indeed, by the EGC (the European Green Coordination). AV's leaders consequently became suspicious and hostile to LV. According to Puig and Vilanova (2007), the EGA failed to consider the Catalan Greens' demands to be recognised as representatives of a distinct nation because of

¹⁰⁶ Vilanova now has an environmental consultancy as well as continuing to write as a freelance journalist

¹⁰⁷ Curiously, the Maoist leader of this party at that time, Joan Oms, has been spokesperson for the Green Confederation since 2009.

their policy of only allowing one Green party per nation (state); Viader's account gives a different explanation, putting it down to EGA's decision to defer discussions for a while (Viader 2010: 71). To this day, most Catalan Greens continue to apportion blame on the 'European Greens' for discriminating against Catalonia but, curiously, only one year after the Catalans were prevented from joining the EGA, the Scottish Green party separated from the English party and was immediately granted access to this European group of parties.

EV were also committed Catalanists, as Viader's account makes clear (2010), but believed they should remain part of LV. Their position was doubly difficult: their Catalanism led them to be viewed with some suspicion by many within LV whilst they were also ostracised by AV for remaining with LV.

5.3.2 *Els Verds* 1993-2010

Shortly after their disappointment in the 1993 general election, a faction within the recently constituted Catalan Confederation (the *Confederació d'Els Verds*) entered into dialogue with *Iniciativa per Catalunya* (IC). By 1995, a year of local and regional elections, the Catalan Confederation, *Els Verds*¹⁰⁸, had agreed to form an electoral alliance with IC, which would allow the Greens to present candidates on IC's lists. This alliance was not accepted by all Greens: some joined *Alternativa Ecologista* (AE), the only independent Green party to stand in the 1995 elections; others joined the ranks of ERC. The new IC-EV coalition secured the Greens three council seats: one seat, on Barcelona City Council, went to one of the founders of AV, Josep Puig. Two further Greens, Joan Oms and Miquel Masias, were made councillors in other towns which were part of the wider Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. Puig and Oms's seats carried considerable weight because in their city councils the socialists needed the support of IC-EV in order to govern; consequently, a number of decisions depended on the position taken by a Green councillor. Puig became the 'Sustainable City councillor' for Barcelona, a new post created to fulfil an electoral promise (during the election, IC-EV were the only party who pledged to

¹⁰⁸ Confusingly, this was previously the name for the pro-Spain Catalan Greens; from now on, it would denote all or any Catalan Greens – in this instance, it denoted all, in theory, given that they were all in the Confederation.

introduce a Local Agenda 21 programme in Barcelona¹⁰⁹). In 1995 there were also regional elections in Catalonia and, as a result of the IC-EV coalition, María Olivares was elected as Catalonia's first Green regional deputy.

Once in power, Olivares was unable to be effective at institutional level in her solitary position; at municipal level, the two councillors were able to be far more active and are acknowledged to have driven the city's sustainability programmes forward substantially. In collaboration with NGOs and companies promoting environmental practices they were able to put their institutional power to good use. Puig drove forward policies to promote energy efficiency, to increase the use of renewable energies, manage water more efficiently and to reduce waste. Between 1995-1999, a Sustainable City Resources Centre was set up and an ambitious Solar Thermal By-Law was introduced. This established that all new buildings and extensive renovations would have to set up solar thermal water systems to provide at least 60% of the building's hot water. Puig stressed that the many flat roofs in Barcelona could easily have solar thermal panels installed. In 1995 the city had 700m² of solar heat surface. By 2000, just after the introduction of this law, this had increased to 1632m² (and by 2004 there were 24,000m²).

Puig's commitment to this project paid off. Barcelona became the first city in Spain to legislate in this respect, but other cities soon followed suit, and the by-law has by now become a statewide law. It is generally acknowledged that this development is attributable to Puig.¹¹⁰

ICV's environmental programme has played an important role during all these years, particularly between 1995-1999 when a pact with a Green party meant that the leader of Alternativa Verda became the Sustainable City councillor. Puig was responsible for really driving forward the city's commitment to sustainability. (*Casanovas 2007)

¹⁰⁹ Agenda 21 is a plan to promote sustainable development, introduced at the 1992 Rio de Janeiro UN summit where it was signed by all heads of state. At a local level, the plan involves undertaking an integrated approach to ensure that a town or city can become as sustainable as possible.

¹¹⁰ Puig was also responsible for introducing low-energy light bulbs in all council controlled buildings, and, amongst other measures, launched an effective paper-recycling initiative and a composting programme. He also advocated reviewing the council's position on the use of PVC and called for an enquiry (Sostenibilitat 2010)

Meanwhile, Greens within IC-EV were increasingly disaffected with the coalition. They were frequently excluded from events and decisions and the Greens' organisational openness was at odds with IC's party structure, which remained very closed, in keeping with the party's historical roots as the old Catalan communist party. According to a number of activists (Puig 2007; Vilanova 2007), *Els Verds'* moment of crisis as regards IC was the day they came to an annual conference in 1998 and saw that a new acronym, ICV, had been put up in the hall **without even consulting the Greens**. The leaders of IC had decided to reconstitute as an ecosocialist party – having availed themselves of *Els Verds'* expertise – and had created a new party and identity for themselves with no mention of this to EV. From now on, ICV, a party with a certain amount of standing in Catalonia, would be known as the region's 'Green party'.

At this point, the majority of Greens voted to abandon IC though some Greens (namely the two councillors and a few others) stayed with IC. The remaining Catalan Greens dispersed into a number of different political formations and prepared for the 1999 regional, municipal and European elections. As Appendix H shows, in each of these elections, the Greens presented themselves in different groupings. Some of EV formed a coalition with ERC for the municipal and European elections: one Green councillor, Roser Veciana, was elected for Barcelona City Council on the ERC list. Other Green activists joined LV-GV, AE-EE or AV.

The two Barcelona city councillors, Puig and Oms, who had presumably remained with IC-EV for pragmatic reasons, failed to win their council seats in 1999 when the party suffered a substantial loss in the elections. The two ex-councillors immediately left and rejoined the Green-Green family.

The numerous Green factions that emerged as a result of the EV's terminal crisis in 1998 continue to exist today but are effectively 'proto-parties' (Lucardie 2000) with little hope of winning any seats. Their main objective is to protest, continue to advocate Green-Green politics and act as a pressure group that condemns ICV for its lack of credibility as an ecology party. ICV has consolidated itself as the region's

Green party and the remaining parties battle on without making much headway although there seems to be a concerted effort towards re-grouping as many factions as possible into pre-electoral alliances.

In the 2010 regional elections, nearly all the Green-Green parties presented a single list and stood in a coalition that included EV, AE and LV-GV (they got 0.5% of the vote). Interestingly, AV – now reduced to a groupuscule that usually only stands in one of Catalonia's four provinces – aligned itself with a pro-independence, nationalist coalition, *Solidaritat Catalana*, led by the previous CEO of Barcelona FC¹¹¹, Joan Laporta. AV's decision to align itself with Laporta was harshly criticised by other ecologists, given Laporta's poor environmental record. Nevertheless, their decision demonstrates the extent to which this party has broken its links with the other Green parties in the region. It also demonstrates the party's commitment to independence.

If the first ten years of Green politics in Catalonia was dominated by the attempt and failure to establish a single, strong green party (on the lines of European Green parties elsewhere in Europe but respecting the Catalan issue) then the post-1993 period has been characterised by the emergence of a Catalan ecosocialist 'Green' party, ICV, which is regarded as being Spain's leading Green party. An ICV MEP has been in the EP since 2004, there are about 12 ICV regional deputies and there are usually one or two MPs in the *Congreso*. However, the continued existence of other Green parties in the region indicates that a number of ecologists do not believe that ICV is representing Green interests; similarly, many within the PESM are deeply critical of ICV. The next section explains the Catalan Greens' uneven development.

¹¹¹ Barcelona FC is the region's football club, although its influence also extends to other teams and it is a major economic force in the region.

5.4 THE 'FAILURE' OF THE CATALAN GREENS

In his foreword to Viader's book about Green politics in Catalonia (2010), a leading Catalan ecologist and academic, Octavi Piulats¹¹², describes the book as the 'history of a failure' in that it recounts the inability to create a strong, independent Green party in Catalonia. Given Catalonia's history and political culture (a strong social movement and a region that would consider itself to be more postmaterialist than many other Spanish regions), as well as its distinctive party system which could have allowed for the emergence of a strong independent Green party, the reasons for this failure cannot be imputed to the region being uninterested in environmental questions. There are multiple, interconnected factors that, together, constrained the development of a viable independent Green party. Some of these factors, including the nationalist question, party competition, party encroachment, and the issue of personalism will be examined in this section.

5.4.1 *The nationalist question*

The question of Catalonia's status within Spain has long been contested and there are increasing calls for a referendum on the region's future. In an article entitled 'Independence?', Castells supports the idea of a referendum, using a discourse which highlights the depth of feeling surrounding this issue in the region.

It is not just a question of identity but also of our social and economic welfare, just like the case of Flanders in Belgium. Catalonia knows that, within the European framework, it could be a productive and competitive country which is held back by a Spain which is largely dependent on a speculative economy based on finance and the construction business. Catalonia's sense of [...] solidarity towards a crisis-ridden Spain needs some kind of payback. We need the fundamental values of our nation to be respected, rather than seeing our nationhood denied and vilified by those who are surviving because of us (*Castells 2010).

The attitude he expresses towards Spain has been commonplace amongst many Catalanists for many years (Spaniards accuse Catalans of having 'a chip on their shoulder' on this very issue) and highlights an issue where great sensitivity and

¹¹² Piulats lived in Germany during the 1980s, joined *die Grünen* and still remains a member of that party. Like Viader, he was in favour of EV being part of the statewide LV.

tolerance should be shown by both sides of the divide. Unfortunately, in the early days of the Greens there was incomprehension and a little mistrust on both sides and this inevitably contributed towards constraining the fortunes of the Catalan Greens (the phrase 'Catalan Greens' denotes all Catalan Green parties, whether ecosocialist or Green-green; when referring to the parties that are not ecosocialist, this chapter will refer to them as the Catalan Green-greens).

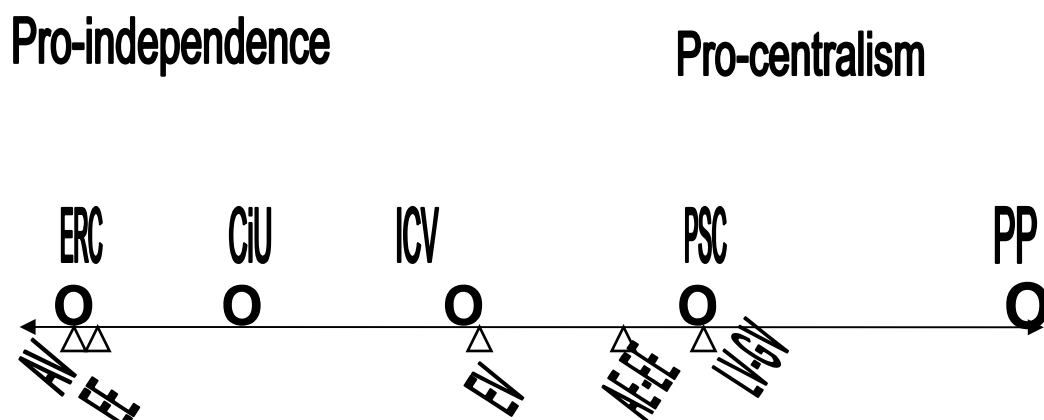
The nationalist issue was divisive in the early days because the non-Catalan Greens would not appreciate how important the nationalist issue was for some of the Catalan Greens, and consequently their emphasis on calling for the setting up of a confederation of independent Green parties in every region. The issue led to AV pulling out of LV, only a year after the latter had been established. But the matter was even more complicated because not all of the Catalan Greens held such radical views. Those who had come from left-wing nationalist movements were far more radically Catalanist than Greens who had been drawn to LV (or its Catalan manifestation) because of their affinity with pacifism, ecologism or feminism (in other words, Greens who were more in line with the Green party tenets as exemplified by the German Greens). The two camps' irreconcilable differences split the Catalan party, were largely responsible for the early fragmentation of LV and were instrumental in sowing discord and fuelling enmities which have lasted until the present day and were also instrumental in exacerbating the big split in the Catalan Confederation. This took place in 1995, after half the party formed a coalition with IC.

Conflicts surrounding Catalanism have ceased to be a key issue for the Catalan Green-greens, largely because the demands of Catalan nationalism have been voiced clearly and gained considerable recognition within Spain but also the rest of the EU. Within Catalonia itself, the different Green-green parties continue to have slightly different positions as regards Catalanism.

Figure 5.3 sets out the ideological positioning of Catalonia's Green parties (alongside the main ones) along a nationalist-centralist axis. As the table shows, AV and EE are

the most radically nationalist parties¹¹³ and many supporters of these two formations are ideologically close to ERC and favour independence.

Figure 5.3 Catalanist position of the region's main and green parties



Source: adapted from data in CIS 2010, Question 12 and interviews with party activists

Despite belonging to an ecologist party, the importance they attach to the nationalist cause may lead AV and EE supporters to vote for ERC. For example, In the run-up to the 2010 regional elections, all the Catalan Green-green parties, including AV, agreed to present a joint, single list. However, several months later, AV dropped out of this pre-electoral alliance to form a coalition with *Solidaritat Catalana* and presented a succinct, one-issue manifesto, calling for the independence of Catalonia.

The remaining four Catalan Green parties are less Catalanist than AV and, to a greater or lesser extent, are in favour of Catalonia remaining within the Spanish state, though ICV and EV would like this to be a federal state. As the Table shows, ICV and EV are firmly committed to nationalism: ICV describes itself as a ‘left-wing, ecosocialist, nationalist party’ whilst party literature (and interviews with party leaders) make it clear that EV is also a Catalanist party as the following statement makes clear:

¹¹³ In fact, EE (see Table 5.3) is no longer a party but an association.

We are a Green Catalan party because our country is Catalonia, a country situated in the North-West part of the Mediterranean bioregion, a country with its own cultural and natural characteristics. (*Els Verds 2008)

The two other main Catalan Green parties are AE, which is a Europe-centred Catalan party, and LVGV, a statewide party. Despite their divergent views on nationalism, this issue is not as divisive as it once was and does not prevent the Catalan Green-green parties from sometimes presenting joint lists at election times.

5.4.2 Party competition and encroachment

Nowadays, the Green-green parties try to agree on presenting a single list for elections in order to improve their chances of winning seats, although internal disagreement still prevents them, all too often, from reaching an agreement (in the 2008 general election, three Green-green parties presented lists in Catalonia, in addition to ICV).

Even when the Catalan Green-greens present a single list, it is very hard for them to win any seats given that they have to compete with a number of other parties that are targeting the same group of voters. This situation pertains everywhere, of course, but is even more marked in a region such as Catalonia as the following paragraphs will indicate.

Firstly, the Green-greens have to contend with two major parties, both of which would describe themselves as ‘alternative left’ Catalanist parties which prioritise environmental concerns and social justice. These two parties – ICV and ERC - are far more likely to attract tactical ecologist voters who do not want to indulge in gesture politics by wasting their vote.

ERC, in particular, has in the past few years attracted the support of a number of radical nationalist ‘ecologists’. It is left-wing, has progressive social policies, and keenly defends the protection of Catalonia’s environment. Its focus on achieving independence for Catalonia also taps into Green interest in eco-regionalism and politics on a human and local scale. EE, for example, a left-wing Green party which started out as part of AV, moved to EV and then ICV, has eventually stopped

operating as a party and is now a social movement, whose members have nearly all moved over to ERC.

However, ICV is the party which most directly competes with the Catalan Green-greens. The fact that it is routinely referred to as Catalonia's 'Green' party (both in Catalonia and the rest of Spain), and is recognised as such by the EP, gives it an authority which the Green-greens lack. Furthermore, its ecosocialist position (which removes any suspicion that it might be right-wing – always a concern when assessing the Green-greens) works in its favour in a region where ecologism is clearly linked to the left. However, ICV's position as Catalonia's Green party is not unproblematic. It also has to face competition from ERC and the many Green parties that reject ICV's legitimacy as a representative of PE (a question that will be discussed in section 5.6).

For all but the most dedicated Green ideologue, the tactical solution for a committed ecologist in Catalonia is to vote for ERC or ICV. Given the Spanish electoral system and the predominance of the two major parties, even voting for ERC or ICV is avoided by many supporters. A survey which questioned supporters of these two parties revealed that only 68% of ICV supporters voted for that party at the last general election (with almost all the rest voting for the Socialists); meanwhile, only 64% of ERC supporters voted for ERC whilst the rest voted largely for the Socialists though about 7% voted for Catalonia's largest nationalist party, CiU (CIS 2010: Survey 2829). In other words, at election times, quite a number of committed supporters prefer to vote tactically. If this is true even of ERC and ICV, it is easy to see why the Greens have always failed to obtain more than a sprinkling of votes, in spite of predictions to the contrary.

Finally, the Catalan Greens (both ICV and the Green-greens) have to compete with new, single-issue or alternative parties such as PACMA (*Partido Antitaurino Contra El Maltrato Animal* or The Anti-Bullfighting and Animal Cruelty Party), which attract the protest, anti-system votes which the Greens once obtained. In the 2008

general election, PACMA obtained more votes in the Barcelona constituency than Els Verds (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 PACMA and Greens' results in 2008 general elections in Barcelona

| | | | |
|-------|---|--------|-------|
| EV-AE | ELS VERDS - L'ALTERNATIVA ECOLOGISTA | 12,561 | 0.45% |
| PACMA | PARTIDO ANTITAURO CONTRA EL MALTRATO ANIMAL | 8,153 | 0.29% |
| EV-LV | ELS VERDS-LOS VERDES | 7,324 | 0.26% |
| AV | ALTERNATIVA VERDA | 2,028 | 0.05% |

Source: Spanish Ministry of the Interior Website, 2010

Another party which, like PACMA, seems fresher, closer to the social movements and offers another possibility to ecologists who want to express their rejection of the major parties is *Candidatura d'Unitat Popular* (CUP or Popular Unity Candidates). This party is left-wing, in favour of Catalan independence, anti-capitalist and in favour of participatory local government (it only stands in local elections where, in the 2011 elections, it came in 6th place, obtaining 2.16% of the votes, a percentage that compares very favourably with any of the Green-green parties or, indeed, with the aggregated Green-green vote.

5.4.3 Personalism

The personal distrust which exists within Green politics in Spain is replicated in Catalonia. The bitter quarrels that centered around different nationalist positions in the early years established an atmosphere of conflict and mistrust that has never been overcome. Viader, who favoured remaining within LV in the early years, received threatening messages in his letterbox 'warning' him to 'go back to Spain' (Viader 2010: 29) and eventually dropped out of green politics. Betrayals and mistrust continued to be commonplace but culminated at the time of Els Verds' alliance with IC in 1995, when many Greens left the party, and later when there were more departures in 1998. During the period 1995-1999, at the beginning of the IC-EV coalition, two leading figures within the Catalan Greens – Puig and Oms, both councillors at the time – chose not to leave ICV when the Greens voted to pull out of the party in 1998. When Puig and Oms left ICV (having lost their seats in the 1999

regional election in 1999) and tried to rejoin EV, they were ousted as party leaders in a coup, whereupon they left the party and founded another one, *Opció Verda* (Green Option), a move which helped to fragment the Greens even further. Shortly after this, Puig fell out with Oms and re-founded AV. Since then, both men are routinely disparaging about ICV and their treacherous annexation of the Greens, but neither of them have accounted for their failure to leave the party at the time.

As a result of the bitterness, the endless struggles for power and the fruitlessness of the enterprise, many founding figures of the Catalan Greens became disenchanted with Green politics: some moved over to nationalist politics whilst quite a number of prominent Catalan Greens from the 1980s and early 1990s continue to be part of the PESM but have removed themselves from Green politics. The following extract expresses the disenchantment felt by many Green activists:

Many of those who supported the 1991 and 1993 process of bringing political ecopacifism to maturity – and I include myself in that number – left, frightened ... by the many instances of atavistic hatred ... The green groups continue divided and IC, which is trying to use a green political approach, is not getting the support of the traditional Catalan environmental groups ... (Rius-Sant 2003).

Amongst those who are still involved in Green politics, personal rivalries, animosity and a long history of betrayals make it difficult – though not impossible – for the different factions to collaborate. Attempts to build bridges between the factions are half-hearted and based on expedience. One leading Green candidate at the 2010 Catalan regional election admitted that they really disliked a key candidate from the other Green party with which they were forming a coalition platform (Interview 2010: name withheld).

Furthermore, in conversation with activists and Green leaders, it is clear that these ideologues have no illusions about winning, and despite much hard work to improve their electoral chances (by forming alliances, producing publicity material and so forth), they expect defeat and merely maintain a presence to demonstrate that ICV is

not a real Green option, and to ‘keep alive the flame of the political ecology movement in Catalonia’ (Interview with Santiago Vilanova 2007).

The staying power of these committed individuals, and the fact that the Greens continue to poll some votes at each election, leaves the door open to the possibility that a sea change might occur, however improbable this seems. By now, the different Green parties do not always present lists in all the constituencies but choose the ones where they have the most local support (for example, AV only stands in the province of Girona whereas the other Green parties stand in the province of Barcelona. However, in the 2010 regional elections, the *Els Verds* alliance fielded candidates in all four provinces.

Over time, key figures within the Catalan Greens have displayed a degree of pragmatism which contradicts the view that each faction is divided by irreconcilable ideological differences. For example, both Puig and Oms (seduced by the trade-offs of power) have been prepared to stand with a ‘communist’ party (IC) and a socialist party (PSC).. To this extent, these Green parties appear to conform to the classic theory of party systems which ‘usually treat party organization as a black box in which actors adapt rationally to the constraints and opportunities offered by the electoral market (Kitschelt 1989: 401)’.

However, as Kitschelt argues, this theory does not take into account the all-important fact that ‘a party’s *past strategies and policies* influence the recruitment of activists and the strength of intra-party groups (Kitschelt 1989: 408).’ The Catalan Green-greens’ ‘past strategies and policies’, or rather their embattled and confused trajectory, have prevented these parties from renewing themselves.

Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the major barrier to the Green’s electoral chances was the relaunching of ICV as an ecosocialist party. The following section will examine ICV – regarded by the EGP as the undisputed representative of Green politics in Catalonia – and will consider to what extent it represents PE in the region.

5.5 CATALONIA'S FLAGSHIP GREEN (OR RED?) PARTY, ICV

5.5.1 ICV, *Catalonia's legitimate Green party*

Previous sections have established the regional dimension as being a catalyst for the fragmentation of the Catalan Greens; they have also shown how the range of competing options and intraparty conflict made it unlikely that the Catalan Greens, short on resources and poorly organised, would be electorally successful. This section will examine another potentially conflictive issue for all Green parties, namely the strategic question of whether they should remain independent from other political formations – i.e. resolutely 'Green-green' – or maximise their chances of winning a seat or increasing their political leverage by allying themselves with progressive left parties or movements. As has previously been mentioned, this is what happened when EV entered into an alliance with IC. Although such alliances are regularly formed in a number of Spanish regions, the alliances elsewhere remain just that: provisional coalitions set up for pragmatic reasons. However, in Catalonia, a former IU-style party (predominantly communist), IC, has gradually evolved into an ecosocialist party which even refers to itself as 'Green' when describing itself in a non-Spanish context. In an article in *Environmental Politics* that focuses on ICV, two ICV activists refer throughout to their party as 'the Catalan Greens' (Riera and Rius 2009), making no mention of the term 'ecosocialist', the term used when referring to the party in Catalan or Spanish.

A number of Catalan ecologists (either Verds or from the PESM) have, however, questioned ICV's right to define itself as Green, and allege that ICV's ecologism or ecosocialism is merely a greenwash which usefully allows this communist party to acquire a softer and more fashionable image. These arguments are probably outdated, as the next paragraphs will show, although they reflect valid concerns as to whether Green parties should retain their ideological independence as proponents of PE or settle for a broader compromise solution that includes the alternative left.

ICV's right to define the party as Green is legitimised by the fact that the party has been part of the EGP since 2004 and that ICV's MEP since that year, Raül Romeva,

is a Vice-President of the Greens in the European Parliament. In short, despite the party's origins, over the last ten years or so ICV has gradually carved itself a niche as an eco-socialist or red-green party. Its transformation into a red-green party is evident, not only on account of the party principles as set out in the party's successive manifestos and resolutions at party conferences but also because of the actions and positions adopted by some of its parliamentary representatives.

Gomà and Rius, both ICV activists, define their party's ideological position as having four principal tenets: it is Catalanist as well as socialist, environmental and feminist¹¹⁴ (Gomà & Rius 2006: 245). They also stress the party's steady commitment to ensure the grass-roots, bottom-up approach of the party's structure, which gives plenty of openings to activists and sympathisers to input into the party leadership. In the run up to the 2008 general election, a newspaper article written by Herrera, who headed the ICV list, summed up the party's positioning and also its discourse. For example, he set out the four main tasks that needed to be tackled immediately: to work towards a plurinational state; to address the widening gap between rich and poor; to increase democratic rights and liberties such as abortion, euthanasia, and the right for immigrants to vote in local elections; and, finally, to improve and protect the environment by tackling a range of issues (nuclear power, sustainable transport, conventional railway, environmental taxes, energy saving). The article ended by stating that these issues needed a 'Catalanism of the left, environmentalist and demanding' (Herrera: 06/01/2008).

The party's strategies, policy and discourse (as can be seen by comparing the ICV 2006 Regional election manifesto and the Scottish Green Party's 2007 manifesto for the Scottish Parliament elections¹¹⁵) are fairly similar to those of a Green party; admittedly, ICV's manifesto gives slightly more prominence to social justice and Catalanist issues, whilst the Scottish Greens place greater emphasis on recognisably Green issues. However, the differences are minor.

¹¹⁴ In 2004, ICV initiated a very successful group called *Dones amb iniciativa* (Women with Initiative), a group which has about 750 members involved in ongoing discussions and proposals to ensure that the party is driving forward a progressive gender agenda.

¹¹⁵ For a comparison and explanation of these two manifestos, see Appendix I).

ICV is regarded (see Karamichas 2004; Valencia Saiz 2006) as a Spanish Green party which has managed to escape or overcome the problems faced by the Spanish Greens as a whole. The party may be classified (within the Spanish context) as being relatively successful in that it regularly returns a number of deputies to the regional parliament (12 in 2006 and 10 in 2010), has consistently had one or two MPs in the *Congreso*, is represented in the EP and, furthermore, has numerous elected councillors and mayors throughout the region – in 2007, 451 ICV councillors were elected, 25 of whom were mayors (Marcet & Bartomeus 2008: 21)¹¹⁶. During its eight year mandate as a minor partner in the *Tripartit* coalition (2003-2010) the party has demonstrated its ‘green’ credentials in some areas. At regional level, ICV consistently opposed a number of very controversial, environmentally aggressive proposals¹¹⁷, even if their views haven’t prevailed due to their minority position within the three party coalition. As such, they were in a similar position to *die Grünen*, when they were in government with the SPD for two terms (from 1998 until 2005)¹¹⁸. However, it is important to highlight the fact that many Catalan Greens, including members of ICV, actively participate in PESM campaigns or demonstrations; in this respect, although their party may be unable to deliver policy change, the individual party members remain part of the PESM.

Nevertheless, in spite of their difficult position within the *Tripartit*, during its eight years in regional government ICV managed to introduce a few schemes which are consonant with its Green ideology. They introduced an 80 kilometre speed limit on many of the routes leading into Barcelona in order to calm the traffic and reduce pollution levels as well as a 30 kilometre per hour speed limit within Barcelona itself (*El País* 05/16/2011). They built 130 kilometres of cycle paths, doubled the number of nursery places, introduced a new ethical practice code for the police, ensured that all those entitled to free home care or free school meals receive them, increased

¹¹⁶ Latest municipal elections in the region show a downturn in the number of counsellors elected. There are now 398 councillors. However, this downturn was minor compared to the poor results of the remaining left-wing parties.

¹¹⁷ E.g. the high-tension power cables bringing electricity from France and the building of a fourth ring-road outside Barcelona.

¹¹⁸ In 2002, *die Grünen* won 55 out of a possible 598 seats. In 2003, ICV obtained 12 seats out of a possibly 132, a roughly comparable percentage of seats.

individuals' tax contributions, and introduced a new inheritance tax (*El País* 21/12/2010).

The ecological commitment of the ICV deputies in the *Congreso* and the EP (one in each case) is acknowledged by all the PESM; even those who are critical of ICV have nothing but praise for Raül Romeva, MEP, who has tirelessly demonstrated his party's interest in green issues. He predominantly intervenes on subjects which affect human rights, arm sales, LGTB issues, female exploitation, environment, sustainability, pollution and cultivation of genetically modified food (GMO) (EP 2011). An analysis of all the questions Romeva has raised in the EP between August, 2010 and April, 2010 shows that 45% related to environmental matters whilst 40% were human rights questions. Only 2.5% of the questions were 'left' issues and 5% were Catalanist issues (EP 2011).

In the Spanish parliament, ICV's representative until November 2010, Joan Herrera, was well known for his strong commitment to PE. Herrera has been very active in the Spanish parliament, and has raised many green issues in parliamentary or extra parliamentary sessions, as well as presenting numerous early day motions/private members' bills on 'green' issues. These included the following topics: nuclear power, bullfighting, using seal fur, in support of raising environmental taxes, promoting a more sustainable transport system, introducing energy-saving measures, giving immigrants the right to vote in municipal elections, urging Spain to pull its troops out of Afghanistan and showing solidarity to the beleaguered people of Western Sahara (Congreso 2011).

Herrera has stopped being an MP in the *Congreso*, but his replacement, Nuria Buenaventura, has continued to show the same 'Green' priorities as Herrera. Herrera stepped down in order to head the ICV list at Catalonia's regional election in November 2010. He is now leader of ICV, and given his strong profile as an ecologist this is a clear indication that the Green tendency within ICV is no longer a minority within the party but has become the mainstream tendency.

5.5.2 ICV: not a Green party?

Although the evidence presented in the previous sub-section leads many to conclude that Catalan Green politics now has a legitimate and efficient party to represent its cause, many ecologists within the region dissent from this view – namely, the Catalan Green-greens as well as members of the Catalan PESM. The issue does not only concern Catalonia. Because ICV is considered a successful Green party with representation in the EP and the *Congreso*, the party represents a useful model for other aspiring ecosocialist parties. However, differing perceptions as to whether ICV should be considered a Green party point to the unresolved question that continues to dominate Green political thought in Spain.

The Catalan equivalent of IU, IC, was established in 1987 as a coalition of left-wing/communist parties. The coalition was, however, problematic from the outset as it was composed of two communist parties and a left-wing nationalist party. The Catalan Communist Party (PCC, close to its Spanish counterpart), left (1989) and rejoined (1995) the coalition before its final exit in 1997, when it formed a separate party called *Esquerra Unida i Alternativa* (EUiA, United and Alternative Left, IU's Catalan sister party). During all these years IC was in internal turmoil over strategies, and constantly battling with IU; it was also genuinely open to some Green ideas, which is why it initiated talks with EV in the early 1990s. These talks culminated in the IC-EV alliance in 1995 and in IC-EV's transformation, in 1998, to ICV (without consulting EV, as previously mentioned). Between 1997-2003, ICV and EUiA competed in elections but in 2003 the two parties formed an electoral alliance which has proved to be longlasting. Consequently, apart from a few years, ICV and EUiA have been in coalition. Similarly, ICV (partly because of its alliance with EUiA) has retained strong links with IU within Spanish politics whilst insisting on its independent status.

These close links between ICV, IU and EUiA are the first argument used by ecologists who argue that, in spite of its environmental discourse, ICV remains a predominantly 'communist' party. Josep Puig alleges that 'the leopard cannot change its spots' (Interview on 03/12/07), and another long-term activist, Antoni García –

who has been in AV, EV, ERC, ICV and is now in EE – was part of a group who left ICV in June 2007 because they felt that the internal organisation of the party still closely resembled that of an authoritarian communist party – with a very hierarchical and closed organizational structure- and that green issues were being relegated to a back seat (Interview on 06/12/07). In short, even though an attempt has been made to create a bottom-up party structure which allows for a free exchange of ideas in both directions, ICV's communist tradition still predominates.

ICV acknowledges it has a long way to go on this front and in 2000 committed itself to bringing its structural organisation into line with that of a participatory, open and democratic party: it stressed the importance of dialogue within the party and with the social movements, which it considers to be its natural allies (Gomá & Rius 2006). However, García's departure from ICV in 2007 may be an indication that the internal restructuring of the party has still not been achieved.

The second argument used by those who do not consider ICV a Green party is the fact that the party's voters are predominantly socialist or communist rather than ecologist. A CIS survey (2010), which asked those who voted ICV in the 2008 general election about their ideology, certainly confirms this allegation. Only 20.1% of ICV voters declared themselves to be ecologists whilst 12.6% and 17.1% respectively said they were socialists and communists (CIS 2857: 2010 Question 57) (see Table F showing the responses to this question in Appendix H) . The perception that ICV are 'communists' persists. Dowling refers to 'the post-communists of IC-V' (2009: 192), although he then admits to 'a cultural and generational change within the party', which is no longer 'seen as essentially representing the PSUC (i.e. orthodox communism) by another name' (2009: 193).

Many critics of ICV have also argued that the party remains, essentially, left-wing rather than Green because many of the leading figures within the party (Baltasar, Mayol, Guillot, Saura) were originally in the Catalan communist party, the PSUC¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁹ The PSUC is the *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (the Catalan Unified Socialist Party), previously one of Catalonia's two communist parties. PSUC was more Catalanist than the other party and was instrumental in forming ICV

This reflects the predominantly ‘communist’ and authoritarian, closed structure and organisation of the party. Party members are anxious to stress that they have moved away from this approach (Interview with Ernest Urtasun, of ICV Executive: 2007) but former activists have reported on an atmosphere of secrecy and business being done behind closed doors in spite of the party’s apparent attempts to be more deliberative. However, the fact that there is now a new generation of ICV activists who have never been part of PSUC, and the fact that Herrera is now the party leader, indicates that the party is definitively moving towards a line which is congruent with the party’s stated principles.

The fourth issue which has, over the years, alienated many ecologists and Greens is, of course, the party’s unprincipled behaviour, as initially illustrated by IC’s appropriation of the Green brand in 1998, in an underhand gesture which showed little respect to a group of people who had been their partners for a few years. Since then, there have been many further instances of unprincipled behaviour. During the 2003-2010 *Tripartit* coalition government, many ecologists felt betrayed by the fact that this government (which included ICV) pressed ahead with a number of policies which ran counter to everything ICV stands for (for example, they approved an energy plan which agreed to keep the region’s nuclear plants open and to limit investment in renewables). Many ecologists thought they should have stepped down from government. Furthermore, the previous leader of ICV, Joan Saura, was the regional Minister of the Interior (2006-2009). As such, he was strongly condemned for his repressive tactics against demonstrators on a number of occasions. On other occasions (see Box 5.1) ICV was criticised for not taking a firmer stand against the government.

Criticisms against ICV for its ecological position are therefore two-pronged: on the one hand, the party’s legitimacy as ‘ecologist’ is questionable, whilst on the other hand ICV is accused of abandoning its ‘ecological’ principles in a bid to remain in government. The second criticism is one commonly faced by a radical party which is a minority partner in a government. Compromise is inevitable given the party’s

Box 5.1 ICV: the powerlessness of being a minor party in a government coalition

Som lo Que Sembrem (We are what we sow), a social movement calling for the ban on GM foods, gathered more than 109,000 signatures (more than twice the necessary number) in order to introduce a PLI (popular legislation initiative) demanding that GM crops stop being grown in the region, that GM foods are clearly labelled as such, and that an independent study is carried out on the environmental consequences of these crops. Numerous big demonstrations accompanied the handing in of the PLI and six people began a hunger strike next to the parliament buildings in June 2009. ERC and ICV initially supported the PLI but were powerless and passive in the face of their tripartite partner, the PSC, which was against the bill, and supported in this by the opposition parties, CiU and the PP. The bill was thrown out without being considered

Source: (Kaos en la Red 2009).

limited leverage but ecologists may well be sceptical of a party that is prepared to do trade-offs on issues which are non-negotiable for a party that calls itself 'Green'.

Whilst there is some truth in these criticisms of ICV's record in government, a more realistic view would argue that their withdrawal would have served no purpose and that their position – to be openly critical from within the government benches – was perhaps more useful. Certainly, ICV had a reputation as being a pest. An anonymous politician from ERC was quoted as comparing ICV 'to an annoying fly which just wants to make itself noticed because that's the only thing that gives any meaning to its life' (*El País 02/04/2006). Many of ICV's regional MPs and local councillors continued to be actively involved in social movements, often opposing a policy which their party was officially responsible for in government. It was thought that the party's inconsistent behaviour would lead to a dramatic decline in its popularity, but in the 2010 regional and 2011 municipal elections in Catalonia (both overwhelmingly won by the right-wing parties) ICV only suffered very small losses, unlike the other left-wing parties.

5.5.3 Ecosocialism versus ecologism

ICV's position as Catalonia's Green party seems unassailable: it may have some ideological problems and adjustments to make but it is a well organised, established party which is accepted by the EGP as a Green party. Nevertheless, its position is not

as clearcut as it may appear at first and the party is poised to move in a number of different, contradictory directions depending on conjunctural factors.

Firstly, the continuing existence of the Green-green parties and many ecologists' rejection of ICV are clear signs that this party is not representing many who support PE. It is, of course, impossible to ascertain how many ecologists are opposed to ICV but the openly critical views of many ecologists are some indication. Further evidence comes from the CIS 2857 Survey (2010) which indicates that many people who classify themselves as ecologists actually vote for other parties whilst a significant percentage voted for small, unelected parties (16%), spoilt their ballot (4.2%), did not vote (6.3%) or 'cannot remember who they voted for' (8.7%).

ICV has made only one attempt to join forces with the Green-greens and this was an initiative which took place at statewide level when, in 1999, an incipient red-green and nationalist movement coalesced around ICV and the Spanish Confederation, CLV. The two parties presented a joint list for the EP 1999 elections and persuaded most Green parties to support them. The coalition just fell short of obtaining a seat in the EP (they obtained 1.42% of the vote while a Basque separatist party got 1.45% and a seat). On this occasion only one Green party stood against them, LV-GV, obtaining 0.66% of the vote. The Greens' failure to reach an agreement on this occasion cost them a seat and prevented a historic opportunity for Spain's Greens to present a united front and win their first seat in the EP as an independent Green party.

Since then, ICV has always preferred to ally with IU and has rejected overtures from the Catalan Green-greens (Interview with EV member 2010). Meanwhile, relations between ICV and IU appear to be becoming increasingly strained and if they deteriorate any further it is possible that EUiA will pull out of their electoral alliance with ICV. ICV might, in that case, be obliged to turn to the Green-greens in order to win a few more votes (but it might be impossible to forge an alliance between ICV and the Green-greens given their past history).

Alternatively, and in keeping with similar moves elsewhere in Spain, it is possible that an independent EUiA (which, paradoxically, is said by many ecologists to be more ‘ecological’ than ICV, despite its stronger links with the communist party) might reach an agreement with the Green-Greens and mount a stronger offensive against ICV (talks between the different parties concerned have been taking place).

This potential scenario (and there are other possible outcomes) highlights the paradoxical situation that exists in Catalonia. At first glance, it seems as though there is a battle in Catalonia between the two variants of Green politics, the ecosocialist or the ecologist option. However, it transpires that the differences are really more to do with the past history of the Greens and with the personal conflicts that have arisen between party leaders. It would be too simplistic to say that the Green-Greens are ecologists rather than ecosocialists: in fact, the differences between these two ideologies, as played out in Spain, are very minor. In some Spanish regions, the Green-Greens (even those who in the past rejected ecosocialism) have recently formed electoral alliances with IU.

On balance, it is probably unlikely that ICV will be negatively affected by such a scenario given that its stature affords it the necessary resources to weather a difficult patch and see off its opponents. Nevertheless, the status of its relation with IU will be significant in the near future. At statewide level, the new political Green formation, Equo, is being sponsored and aided – at a distance – by ICV, who are reluctant to show more support to an organisation that is a direct rival to IU (López Arnal 2011). However, if ICV officially severs all ties with IU then it is more probable that they will associate themselves openly with Equo. However, their relationship with the latter will not be problem-free because of the nationalist question.

Equo aims to found a statewide Green party, and Equo’s leader has spoken out against nationalisms. Similarly, one of Equo’s big sponsors is the EGP, and yet one of the leading MEPs, Dany Cohn-Bendit¹²⁰ – who cooperates with ICV and regards

¹²⁰ Cohn-Bendit has been a Green MEP, is now a French Green MEP and co-president of the Greens/European Free Alliance Group in the EP. He is the the legendary Dany le Rouge of May ‘68 fame.

them as Spain's only credible Green party – is quoted as saying that ICV's MEP, Romeva, is a 'nationalist' and that this is a 'problem' as far as ecologism is concerned (Público 02.07/2009). Given ICV's commitment to Catalanism, the party's consolidated position and its alliance with EUiA, Equo will need to prove its worth before ICV joins its project.

In fact, ICV is playing a very complicated game in its relations with parties beyond Catalonia. As well as providing support to Equo, ICV is involved in another scheme called the *Foro Espacio Plural* (the Plural Space Forum) which aims to create a nationalist, ecosocialist group 'across Spain' (Iniciativa 2010). To date, ICV has helped to establish two new ecosocialist parties in the Balearics and Valencia, *Iniciativa Verds* and *Iniciativa del Poble Valencià* and aims to extend this model to other regions. Those hostile to ICV consider this move as ICV's attempt to create a pan Catalanist ecosocialist alliance.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that, despite the presence of a vigorous environmental social movement, Catalonia's successful 'Green' party has failed to obtain the support (and votes) of many of the region's ecologists. Nevertheless, ICV's evolution from a communist to an ecosocialist party represents a small victory for PE in Catalonia. For ecologists who feel torn between supporting the left, the Greens or the nationalists, the existence of a red-green Catalanist party is a welcome addition to the range of available political parties. However, the many dissenting voices amongst ecologists testify to the problematic status of ICV, whose record in government has failed to convince ecologists of its credentials as a party committed to PE. A number of ecologists have moved over to ERC¹²¹ whilst a large percentage of the Catalan PESM, represented by EdC, are critical of ICV and, in particular, of their work whilst in government between 2003-2010 in Catalonia (El País 20/03/2009).

¹²¹ Within ERC there is a movement, *Els Verds-Esquerra Ecologista*, which originated from the ashes of Els Verds in 1998 and started out as a party. It was part of ICV for a few years but left them because it did not like the party's closed organisation (Interview with Antoni García 2007)

Meanwhile, the Green-Greens have no chance of breaking the electoral barrier and gaining a seat in the regional parliament or even in a local council election at present. This is due to a concatenation of factors: weak, under-resourced parties, voter (and activist) confusion and disillusionment, and a wide range of competing options which allow voters to choose a party which loosely corresponds to their political beliefs and is likely to win a seat. In short, the plight of the Catalan 'Green-Greens' seems terminal: ICV – despite all its alleged shortcomings – is now internationally recognised as Catalonia's 'Green' party and the remaining Green parties have become movement parties whose engagement with party politics is based on their determination to express opposition to ICV.

The Catalan case is interesting because it demonstrates how a particular set of opportunities – which did not come together in other regions – led to a lasting change which altered the political landscape and, unexpectedly, even the ideology of a party (ICV). As Hopkin states, parties have 'lives of their own' and, despite constraints, can surprise us (2009:196). In other Spanish regions, apparently similar coalitions between IU and the greens have ended acrimoniously (e.g. Andalucía) largely because the majority of the IU members were opposed to moving towards an ecosocialist position. In the Catalan case, PE is now represented by a political party of some standing, even if the party's ideological position is contested by many from the right, the left and by ecologists.

Whilst this confused state of affairs concerns party activists and political scientists, the PESM – those involved in working towards a greener society – continue to work towards their long-term objective. ICV's record supports the argument of those who question the need for Green parties (Vidal 2005), and their seven years in office demonstrated that whilst they were able to introduce small incremental changes they were powerless to introduce radical change (which is what PE calls for and what the PESM is fighting for).

Ultimately, it is the PESM as a whole – made up of individuals from a variety of political backgrounds, a number of whom have been active in Green parties at some

time or other - which offers the most vigorous opposition to a dominant sociopolitical and economic system which systematically works against the interests of the environment, in spite of paying lip service to environmental concerns. ICV's piecemeal political gains are welcome, but play a small part in the movement that is trying to change Catalan society.

Despite the problematic nature of Green politics in Catalonia, it would be incorrect to affirm that Green politics is any less important in Catalonia than in other European countries. As this chapter has shown, ICV and a progressive regional government have raised the profile of institutional Green politics in the region. Their actions have invited criticism from different quarters. However, this controversy has, in itself, helped to keep green issues at the forefront of the political agenda. Countless 'green' issues are given wide media coverage, there is constant debate on these and the EMOs continue to campaign vigorously for an alternative society. Whilst they are by and large unsuccessful on the large issues (and in this respect they are no different to similar movements in the so-called environmental pioneer countries), their constant vigilance and persistence is helping to bring about incremental changes in society.

Above all, it is important to bear in mind an observation made by Tello, one of Catalonia's ecologists. Thirty years ago, he stresses, ecologists message was 'you don't know what you are doing'. The ecologists' message has now changed to 'you are not doing what you know [needs doing]',¹²² (*Tello et al. 2006: 17). As he says, the 'seed of delegitimation' has been sown, and the role of all the PESM is to nurture that seed (*Tello et al. 2006: 17).

The following chapter will examine the case of the Andalusian PE movement and, in the conclusion to the chapter, will point to the principal differences and similarities between PE in Catalonia and Andalusia.

¹²² The Spanish sentences carrier greater resonance. Thirty years ago, the message was 'no saben lo que hacen' whereas nowadays it is 'no hacen lo que saben'.

CHAPTER 6: THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY MOVEMENT IN ANDALUCÍA

Figure 6.1 Map showing the capitals of the eight Andalusian provinces of the same name



Source: Luventicus Website 2

This chapter focuses on PE in Andalucía and, as in the case of Catalonia, examines the origins, strengths and weaknesses of PE in another under-researched region which has also played a key role in the history of PE in Spain. The juxtaposition of the Andalusian and Catalan cases highlights the complex and regional nature of PE in Spain. As this chapter will demonstrate, Andalucía is a region that is politically, socially and economically very different from Catalonia and some of these differences contribute to Andalucía's PESM being substantially different from Catalonia's.

6.1 ANDALUCÍA'S REGIONAL SPECIFICITY

Scholars generally contend that large parts of Spain, including Andalucía, are without significant regionalist sentiment (e.g. Pallarès and Keating 2003: 240).

However, these views overlook Spaniards' increasing identification with their region, as attested by the existence of established nationalist parties in 11 Spanish regions. Andalucía is a case in point, and the present section will examine Andalucía's distinctive regional identity

6.1.1 The Andalusian regional dimension

Andalucía is the second largest Spanish region, covering 17.2% of the country, and the most populated, with just under 8.5 million inhabitants out of a statewide total of 45 million, or approximately 18% of Spain's population¹²³. In both respects it therefore accounts for almost one fifth of Spain.

Despite Andalucía's similarity to Catalonia in size, in most other respects the two regions are substantially different. Andalucía has long been, and remains, one of Spain's economically weakest regions, in spite of the pockets of opulent wealth along the south coast. The *per capita* income of its inhabitants (74% of the EU average) makes it the country's second poorest region (INE-CRE 2009). Since the early 1980s, the region has benefited from considerable financial help from the central government and from the EU but the region still lags behind, and regional disparities between Andalusia and other Spanish regions have in fact increased over the last 30 years (Peña Sánchez 2005 & 2008).

Nevertheless, the Andalusian PESM has been as active as its Catalan counterpart, thus challenging the assumption that environmentalism goes hand in hand with post-materialist values and a comfortable standard of living.

Andalucía's low level of economic development is endemic in a predominantly rural region where the land was traditionally divided up into large estates (*latifundios*) owned by a small number of landowners. For several hundred years there was therefore a deep-rooted 'class consciousness and conflict' (Minahan 2002: 112) which still persists. There is, moreover, a distrust of authority born of a long tradition of resistance to those who wield power – the region had a strong anarchist movement,

¹²³ Catalonia has the second highest population and is the sixth largest region.

largely rural, from 1868-1936 (Brenan 1943). Although Andalusian ecologists acknowledge that the PE movement sprang from the international movement sweeping the western world, few question the influence of the earlier traditions of anarchism (Fernández Reyes 2005: 64).

Most Andalusians who lived in the countryside – the *jornaleros* or day-labourers, paid on a casual basis – lived a hand to mouth existence, and were left to fend for themselves when no work was available. Although democracy saw the gradual introduction of a welfare state and a transformation in the standard of living of many Andalusians, the cultural legacy of the *jornalero* tradition still persists. For example, much work in Andalucía remains seasonal or extremely precarious; many older people still eke a living off the land and the younger people, who are more likely to work in the services sector and in construction, nevertheless maintain the *jornalero* tradition: their jobs are often casual and subject to the vagaries of the economic climate to a greater extent than elsewhere. Andalucía's rate of unemployment is always higher than the rest of Spain's¹²⁴.

Andalusians identify strongly with their own region and, more specifically, with the province they come from (see Figure 6.1 which shows the eight provinces of Andalusia). Despite a strong connection with the region, very few Andalusians would like to see an independent Andalusia, although many consider themselves to be a distinct 'nation'. As the survey results show in Table 6.1, about 85% identify strongly with Andalucía (statements 3 and 4) but only 1% adopt the radical nationalist stance (compare this percentage with the 13.6% of Catalans who identify solely with Catalonia – see Table 5.2).

¹²⁴ In the wake of the credit crunch crisis, unemployment in Spain began to mount from 2008 onwards. In the third quarter of 2010, unemployment in Spain stood at 19.4% whilst in Andalucía the rate of unemployment was 27.02% (IEA 2010)

Table 6.1 Percentage of people surveyed in Andalucía who agreed with the following statements relating to national identity

| | | % |
|---|---|------|
| 1 | I consider myself to be only Spanish | 5.1 |
| 2 | I consider myself to be more Spanish than Andalusian | 7.1 |
| 3 | I consider myself to be Spanish and Andalusian in equal measure | 68.9 |
| 4 | I consider myself to be more Andalusian than Spanish | 16.1 |
| 5 | I consider myself to be only Andalusian | 1.1 |

Source: CIS And. 2010: Survey 2829, Q.48

Andalusian nationalism is based on a number of key signifiers: most Andalusians speak their own variety of Spanish¹²⁵ and are conscious of their region's origins and history. The region's name is said to be based on Al-Andalus, the Muslim kingdom which existed in Spain for seven hundred years (711-1492), and which was most firmly rooted in the south of Spain. Andalucía's regional identity has long been reinforced by a sense of grievance against the central government, and by the movement initiated in the early 20th century by the 'father' of Andalusian nationalism, Blas Infante¹²⁶, who founded a nationalist party to fight for the rights of Andalucía and to call for a federal Spain. The flag he designed and the anthem he wrote are omnipresent in the region but his party, the *Partido Andalucista* (PA, The Andalusian Party), has had scant success in recent years.

6.1.2 The Political System in Andalucía

Traditionally, Andalucía is regarded as the bastion of Spanish socialism: PSOE has always won the regional elections and regularly wins more seats than PP in general elections (see Table 6.2). These results also demonstrate how the electoral system favours the two party system: the two other parties with considerable minority support, IU and PA, have failed to win any seats in the last two general elections¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ Although this dialect is increasingly called *andaluz* (or Andalusian) and is recognised by the regional government as being a distinct 'language variety', linguists are clear that it is, in fact, a variety of Spanish (see Pountain (2003) on his work on the Spanish Language).

¹²⁶ Infante designed the region's flag, its shield and also wrote the regional anthem.

¹²⁷ In the 2008 general election, IU obtained a tenth of PSOE's votes in Andalucía: 230,335 votes as against PSOE's 2,342,277. However, PSOE won 36 seats and IU won none.

Table 6.2 Andalusian seats won in the Congreso by the main parties

| Year | PSOE | | PP | | IULVCA ¹²⁸ | | PA | |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------|------|
| | Seats | % | Seats | % | Seats | % | Seats | % |
| 1993 | 37 | 51.45 | 20 | 29.8 | 4 | 12.08 | 0 | 2.41 |
| 1996 | 32 | 46.66 | 24 | 35.38 | 6 | 13.48 | 0 | 3.12 |
| 2000 | 30 | 43.86 | 28 | 40.57 | 3 | 7.82 | 1 | 5.11 |
| 2004 | 38 | 52.86 | 23 | 33.69 | 0 | 6.39 | 0 | 4.04 |
| 2008 | 36 | 51.93 | 25 | 38.18 | 0 | 5.11 | 0 | 1.52 |

Source: Adapted from the Spanish Ministry of the Interior website 2010

PSOE, PP and IU are the only parties who continue to win seats at regional level¹²⁹; the Andalusian nationalist party, the PA, is the fourth most voted party in the region, but in recent years has lost considerable support¹³⁰. Its original *raison d'être* is less attractive now that PSOE and IU have co-opted PA's moderate nationalist agenda.

At municipal level, PSOE and PP continue to win the majority of seats but, as Table 6.3 shows, local government elections provide an opportunity for the smaller parties, some of which enjoy good local support. One example of just such a party is the *Colectivo de Unidad de los Trabajadores – Bloque Andaluz de Izquierdas* (CUT-BAI),¹³¹ a radical, nationalist, originally rural, left-wing workers' party which is part

¹²⁸ This acronym stands for the Andalusian federation of United Left, which in Andalucía has been called *Izquierda Unida – Los Verdes – Convocatoria por Andalucía* (United Left – the Greens – Calling Andalucía) since 1993, when LVA joined the IU coalition.

In order to iron out unnecessary complication, when referring to the pre-1993 IU, the acronym IU will be used. When referring to the post-1993 party, IULVCA will be used. If the period being covered crosses over both periods, the more usual IU will be used.

¹²⁹ In the 2008 regional election, PSOE obtained 56 seats, PP got 47 and IU secured 6 (BOJA 2010: Regional election 2008)

¹³⁰ Internal crises have led to splits in the party and regroupings under different names. PA split in 2001 but has since converged once again in an electoral coalition called *Coalición Andaluza* or Andalusian Coalition. This coalition is made up of PA, the PSA (or Andalusian Socialist Party) and *Izquierda Andaluza* (The Andalusian Left), a left-wing nationalist faction which broke away from IU in 1998 (Partido Andalucista 2010). For the sake of simplicity, the nationalists will be referred to as PA throughout.

¹³¹ The Workers' United Group – the Andalusian Left-Wing Bloc. Founded in 1979 to stand in municipal elections, this group is headed by Sánchez Gordillo, a trade unionist who has been the mayor of a small Andalusian village, Marinaleda, for the last 30 years.

Table 6.3 The 2007 Municipal Election Results in Andalucía

| | | % | Seats |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| PSOE | Socialist Party | 40.65 | 4,394 |
| PP | People's Party | 32.09 | 2,375 |
| IULVCA ¹³² | United Left Greens-Calling Andalucía | 12.36 | 1,090 |
| PA ¹³³ | Andalusian Party | 7 | 609 |
| ---- | Numerous very local parties | 5.78 | 500 |
| LVA | Los Verdes de Andalucía | 0.65 | 10 |

Source: Spanish Ministry of the Interior Website 2010

of the IULVCA coalition. In the 2007 municipal elections, CUT-BAI secured 100 seats and 9 mayors, thanks to a strong, well-publicised campaign which promised 'access to decent, affordable housing, respect for the environment, a decent job, an efficient health service – in a word, the defence of Andalucía' (CUT-BAI: 2008).

Another key feature of Andalusia's political culture is its territorial division into eight provinces. Unlike Catalonia, demographically and culturally dominated by the greater metropolitan area of Barcelona – which includes about 60% of the region's inhabitants – Andalucía's provinces are geographically distant from each other and also culturally distinct. Although Seville is the official capital of the region, the historical, cultural and demographic importance of several other provincial capitals such as Granada, Malaga, Cordoba and Cadiz have resulted in a region with several distinct centres of power. On the political front, Seville does not dominate in the way that Barcelona does. Each province and major city is characterised by different patterns of voting behaviour and the various parties have their strongholds in one city or another so that the electoral map is by no means homogenous. This phenomenon makes it harder for a regional party to coalesce around shared objectives or leaders.

The variations from one province to another have played an important role in the development of *Los Verdes de Andalucía* (LVA, the Andalusian Greens). Until 1993,

¹³² Despite LVA leaving the IU coalition in 1997, the latter has refused to change its name.

¹³³ This is a simplification. In a number of municipalities, another nationalist party (which often stands with PA) stood. In total, these two other nationalist parties obtained about 80 of the seats including under this heading.

there was no Green group in four of the provinces (Cádiz, Huelva, Jaén and Córdoba) and small Green groups were restricted to Granada, Seville, Almería and Málaga.

Having provided a brief outline of the situation within which Andalucía's political parties operate, the chapter moves on to look at Andalucía's PESM.

6.2 ANDALUCÍA'S ECOLOGISTS

A comprehensive account of the history of Andalucía's ecologism is provided by Fernández Reyes's book (2005). Although this sets the emergence of the Andalusian ecologist movement in the early 1970s, it also alludes to events or situations which predate this period and demonstrate that 'ecological' issues have long been linked to the history of the region.

6.2.1 *The Andalusian environmental landscape*

There is a level of concern about the environment in Andalucía which is not consonant with Andalucía's economic situation (thus contradicting the postmaterialist thesis). The positive response to the following statements, extracted from a large-scale survey on the social habits of Andalusians (IEA 2008) and set out in Table 6.4, go some way towards demonstrating that environmental concern in this region – even discounting a certain response bias as regards the first statement – is on a par with that shown elsewhere in Europe (the statistics for Andalucía are, indeed, very similar to those registered in a parallel study carried out in Catalonia, the results of which are in brackets alongside the Andalusian results).

Table 6.4 Andalusian (and Catalan) opinions regarding environmental issues

| | |
|--|-------------|
| I worry about the environment | 96.4% (94%) |
| I have taken part in an activity promoting the environment (unspecified) | 19% (18.7) |
| I am involved in an environmental organisation | 4% (2.4%) |
| I have done environmental voluntary work | 3% (2.4%) |
| I have signed petitions in support of environmental causes | 14% (13.5%) |

Source: Adapted from IEA 2008 and Idescat 2009

In short, although Andalucía is one of Spain's poorest regions, the inhabitants, according to this survey, are slightly more 'environmental' than their Catalan counterparts. Another survey demonstrates that, on a scale of 1-10, 22.3% of Andalusians opted for 10, and considered themselves to 'be very ecological'. The survey also demonstrates that the perception that environmental concern is restricted to middle-class, urban and university educated persons is far from being the truth (see Appendix L for further data on this survey).

Finally, a study carried out in June 2010 asked Andalusians to list their three worst problems and 7.9% cited the environment (IESA 2010: 12). During the same month, a statewide survey carried out by CIS asked the same question and only 0.5% of Spaniards opted for the environment (CIS 2010: Indicadores).

The reason for Andalusians' above average preoccupation with their environment is undoubtedly due to the fact that the region's major problems are on a scale that far surpasses that experienced in other regions. 'Speculation, pollution, water, desertification and loss of biodiversity are the five main environmental problems in Andalucía' according to a key figure in LVA (LVA 2007).

As the early history of the PESM shows, Andalucía's inhabitants were particularly attached to their natural heritage and anxious to preserve it, as well as remaining faithful to their traditional way of life. In the early 1970s, the EMOs focused predominantly on conservationism. One of the earliest larger-scale movements which brought together groups from all over Andalucía was a protest against the decision in 1977 to build a major road through Andalucía's emblematic national park, Doñana. Given its importance (it is considered the most important European national park for migrating birds, an important wetland, home to the endangered Iberian lynx, as well as numerous other fauna) a number of eminent conservationists and scientists, some of whom worked in the park, voiced their objections to the road-building project. Numerous demonstrations took place, the Andalusian ecologists brought their case to a statewide audience and successfully prevented the building of this road.

The commitment of many of the region's environmentalists and conservationists meant that, according to Greenpeace, Andalucía was a pioneer in the introduction and enforcement of environmental measures about thirty years ago (Greenpeace 2010: 3). Certainly, numerous expert ecologists were appointed to sit on the many boards that had been set up to manage parks and forests. Thanks to their work, there was a growing awareness of the fact that ensuring a sustainable approach to rural development in Andalucía was the best way of benefiting both the people and the countryside.

Over the years, the regional government, working with the help of environmental experts, has introduced numerous environmental measures. However, as elsewhere, although many of these have certainly shown a commitment to ensuring the sustainability of an environment or a species, government action in other policy areas has invalidated any partial progress. Consequently, in spite of a growing environmental awareness, battles continue on the environmental front. Nearly all of these stem from ecologists' determination to defend the region's natural resources which are always threatened by the imperative to pursue economic growth (the PESM argues that this growth primarily benefits the business sector and that there is little or none of the promised trickle-down effect).

In Andalucía, the tension between environmental and economic needs has been particularly acute. As previously mentioned, the region is home to a highly polluting industrial sector and the consequences of depending on this sector came to the attention of the international press in 1998 when a tailings dam, owned by a Swedish mining firm, Boliden, broke at Aznalcóllar (Seville), with the spilling of 6.8 million cubic meters of acidic tailings containing pyrite waste sludge. The broken dam flooded huge swathes of farmland (4,500 hectares) and contaminated a river flowing through the nearby Doñana National Park (Coleman & Perales 1998). Since the disaster, considerable work has gone into cleaning up this area. However, past lessons have not been learnt. A new open-cast copper mine, the Mina Las Cruces – the biggest in Europe – was established very near Aznalcóllar in 2000. Since then, reports by the Guadalquivir Water Authority (*Diario de Sevilla* 14/11/2008) have

denounced the frequent contravention of regulations at this mine, leading to the company's toxic waste polluting the nearby river. In 2009, a worker was killed when some sulphuric acid leaked out from a tank.

Throughout Andalucía, examples such as the one above are common. The economic imperative, in the form of tourism, has also been responsible for the destruction of much of Andalucía's coastline. It is calculated that over 60% of this coastline is now 'built up' (60% of the two kilometres nearest to the coast are densely covered in large blocks of flats or housing estates). The construction kept many in employment and brought wealth to developers until the housing bubble burst in 2008. However, ecologists argue that the construction sector in Andalucía routinely flouts building regulations (often with the tacit connivance of local government) and creates developments which are only inhabited for about two months of the year. In addition to homes, other money-making projects include motor-cross racing tracks in the hills and golf courses.

Golf courses – and the plethora of swimming pools built in Andalucía – have come to symbolise one of the region's most contentious issues, namely the extravagant use of water in a region that suffers from severe water shortage.¹³⁴ Although plans exist to ensure that only treated water is used to irrigate the golf courses, these plans have been harshly criticised by ecologists on a number of fronts. Firstly, many golf courses are still largely irrigated with water taken directly from aquifers or rivers (Teleprensa 2010); furthermore, even when the new plan is implemented, the irrigation of golf courses requires considerable quantities of treated water that ecologists say could be better employed elsewhere.

Although Andalucía's new Water Act (*La Ley 9/2010 de 30 de julio de Aguas de Andalucía*) employs a discourse that stresses sustainability and ecological modernisation, the reality is that the region's water policy fails to implement a modern, demand-led water management system. Appendix J provides two examples of contrasting discourse (the text of the Law and Ecologistas en Acción's objections

¹³⁴ Andalucía has 100 golf courses (28% of Spain's courses) which attract around 250,000 foreign tourists per year (El Sur, 12/02/08).

to the Law) to illustrate the gap – as the ecologists would see it – between ‘greenwash’ and a plan that really promotes sustainability.

Unlike Catalonia, Andalucía has no nuclear power stations but, as the region that was traditionally the repository of the most polluting industries, it is home to a nuclear waste site. Cabril is Spain’s only storage facility for all low and intermediate level radioactive waste. This site has existed near Cordoba since the 1950s but in 1987 its role was consolidated, thus requiring the site to increase its maximum capacity to unprecedented levels (there was nowhere to put the high level waste, which remains in the nuclear power stations). Over the years, the situation in Cabril and surrounding villages has resulted in numerous demonstrations and campaigns.

As in the case of the early Catalan ecologists, an important percentage of pacifists joined the PESM in the early days, partly to protest against the Franco regime, but later on to create networks of conscientious objectors (who didn’t want to do military service) and to protest against Spain’s military programme. One issue in particular has always been the focus of much attention. There are two American bases in the region – an air base and a naval base¹³⁵. These were two of the four American bases originally established during Franco’s dictatorship (in return for Marshall Plan aid). When Spain applied to join NATO, its membership was conditional on the US maintaining a presence on Spanish soil and the bases became the focus of many demonstrations calling on the Americans to withdraw their forces. Since 1984 there has been an annual march in Rota, protesting at the presence of the bases which, together with the British naval presence in Gibraltar, are rejected on the grounds of constituting an unwarranted invasion of Andalucía, imposed from Madrid and potentially threatening to local inhabitants because of the nuclear capabilities of all three bases.

Andalusian ecologists’ struggle to combat a variety of problems has been unremitting and has covered a range of issues: the unsustainable development of ski resorts, the building of huge marinas, the problem of forest fires, a town planning policy which

¹³⁵ The naval base on the coast at Rota (Cadiz province) has about 5,000 USA personnel.

increasingly favours sprawling suburbs (and consequently, the increased use of the car) rather than promoting the neat, compact Mediterranean-style city. Further campaigns have fought to ensure greater social justice both within Spain and in the developing world. At the time of Seville's Expo '92, for example, ecologists were ideologically opposed to this event and set up an anti-Expo summit (a precursor of the antiglobalisation movements): they protested against the unbridled capitalism it represented, the wastefulness of creating an extravagant, short-lived and poorly designed infrastructure in a region which needed to prioritise local inhabitants, and they also rejected the exhibition's theme, namely the 'celebration' of the fifth centenary of the discovery of the Americas (from the EMO's perspective, this 'discovery' resulted in the wholesale plundering of a continent for financial gain, with total disregard for its inhabitants).

6.2.2 The Andalusian PESM: a fragmented movement

Andalusia's PESM has changed substantially since the 1970s and Fernández Reyes (2005) gives a very clear account of the three distinct phases of this movement. During the first phase (1975-1986) the movement was highly fragmented and most activity was carried out at a very local level by numerous small environmental groups, each defending a particular small district or addressing a specific local issue – although, as we have seen, the success in preventing the building of a road through the Coto de Doñana shows that these forces could join together and mobilise a wider group of people to obtain a specific objective. By the early 1980s, the Andalusian movement had begun to mobilise in order to combat social issues and the smaller groups increasingly began to join forces to form a more effective common front at provincial and even regional level. The attempts to integrate the many different groups were fraught with difficulties at first but a few stronger umbrella groups began to emerge by the mid 1980s.

During the second phase of the movement (1986-1998), the hundreds of disparate groups eventually consolidated into a few larger regional organisations, which collaborated in specific areas. The main movements were the FAADN (an

Andalusian conservationist organisation)¹³⁶, AEDENAT (a national ecosocialist movement which included clearly differentiated Andalusian provincial groups) and CEPA (the Andalusian Confederation of Pacifists and Ecologists). By 1989, the combined efforts of the PESM had resulted in the regional government's enactment of the first regional law (*Ley Inventario de Espacios Naturales*, an Act listing the region's nature reserves) which included already designated areas as well as creating many new ones. In total, these sites covered 17% of the region.¹³⁷

Finally, in 1990 about 110 environmental groups agreed to join a confederally structured CEPA which would include a good proportion of Andalucía's ecologists (CEPA was the organisation that spent five years warning the authorities about Aznalcóllar and the dangerous condition of Boliden's dam).

The Andalusian PESM, initially a somewhat urban, middle-class movement, began to co-opt rural people, who had initially been wary of the ecologists (Fernández Reyes 2005). By working with the people who had most to lose from the social consequences of the destruction of the countryside, the movement became quite influential, largely due to the enthusiasm and determination of a relatively small number of activists (Clavero 2004). That outreach signalled a shift in strategy. The need to try to find solutions, rather than just to express dissatisfaction, led the ecologists to begin to sit on numerous boards where their expertise gradually began to win them some support or, at least, meant that they began to be taken seriously (Ruiz Caparrós 2006: interview). Protest was no longer enough: the ecologists sought to seize some power and change society.

Our campaigns changed as regards objectives, time span and methodology. Now, it wasn't just a question of preventing a wood from being cut down; it was a question of drawing up a forestry policy in Andalucía which would generate the socioeconomic conditions which would help to conserve these forests (*Clavero 2004).

¹³⁶ The FAADN (the Spanish acronym for the Andalusian Federation of Associations for the Defence of Nature) continues to exist but restricts its activities to protecting species

¹³⁷ Since then, a further number of sites have been established so that 28.7% of the region is now – theoretically – protected (Clavero et al 2011).

6.2.3 *Ecologistas en Acción Andalucía (EEA)*

Fernández Reyes defines the third phase of ecologism as starting in 1998 when CEPA came together with a number of smaller Andalusian EMOs to become Ecologists in Action Andalucía (EAA), a regional confederation¹³⁸ which includes about 90% of the region's EMOs.

The principle behind the new structure was to allow local groups to retain autonomy and to initiate and sustain local campaigns whilst also recognising the need to pool resources, draw on wider expertise and create an organisation with the necessary visibility and influence at regional, national and international level. Quite a number of the local groups are based in a particular city or province, have existed for many years and are very active in working to fight on behalf of the environment in their own locality. In total, there are now just under 100 EAA groups in the region, although 80% of these have fewer than 20 paid-up members.

EAA, like EA, defines itself as a social ecology movement and therefore works to retain the characteristics of a grassroots movement. Much emphasis is put on the importance of participation, and the organisation attracts a number of extremely dedicated active members as well as a number of less involved members who at least pay their dues: latest figures for EAA (2010) state that there are 4,000 members. They can also count on a far larger number of supporters and sympathisers who become involved in a particular issue and may play an extremely important role when it comes to mobilising large-scale campaigns and demonstrations on that issue.

EAA fulfils all the criteria of an organisation founded along the principles of participatory democracy, with a bottom-up structure and total autonomy for the individual movements and federations. For example, although the various groups within EAA may pursue very different interests (i.e. some are committed to conserve turtles, whilst others focus on urban regeneration, promote cycling or denounce illegal construction), they are all broadly committed to the goals of social ecology and can call on help from other groups within the federation, whilst using the EAA logo to give their campaign more credibility and visibility.

¹³⁸ It is a regional confederation in that each province is an autonomous federation.

EAA has a confederal headquarters in Seville which employs four people (two of them part-time). It is otherwise entirely reliant on voluntary support. It finances itself through selling merchandise, membership dues and through cooperating with the regional government and other bodies on preparing specific campaigns relating to environmental matters.

EAA has a fivefold function: it works with government bodies, engages in consciousness-raising activities, acts as an environmental watchdog and mounts campaigns and protests (Its role – partly liaising with government, partly in opposition to government – is comparable to that of Friends of the Earth in the United Kingdom). Its final function is to liaise between the different autonomous associations and groups which are part of EAA.

As Andalucía's leading EMO, EAA collaborates with regional and local government bodies in a variety of ways. Members of EAA sit on 90 different local or regional official bodies (such as, for example, the Forestry Commission, the Water Commission and regional and national parks), and their acknowledged expertise is such that their advice as interested social partners is highly sought after whenever environmental considerations are in question. EAA works with countless bodies trying to push for good environmental practice, as well as working on educational programmes financed by the government. An example of its cooperation with the regional authorities was EAA's important role in helping to put together Andalucía's Agenda 21 which was approved in January 2000, well before the Catalan or Spanish Agenda 21 were ready.

In conjunction with the authorities it produces publications on a wide range of topics, such as encouraging Andalusians to grow organic olive trees, abandon cruel hunting practices (putting down traps and poison), and use bicycles in cities. At the same time, EAA is involved in numerous programmes, including the following: providing environmental education to young people; working with the *Junta* (the regional government) on its wind power programme and promoting solar power with the aid

of a 'solar caravan' which travels round the region, giving workshops to schools and communities. Another project initiated by EAA and supported by Seville City Council is the setting up of allotments in the city centre (*huertos urbanos*) which are mainly available to pensioners and the unemployed. These are farmed organically, and help and advice is provided to the allotment holders.

EAA's educational work provides it with the necessary funding to carry out its remaining activities, where its role is to question, admonish or oppose businesses, individuals, and regional as well as local authorities. In order to enhance people's critical awareness of practices which are 'un-ecological', EAA has initiated a host of consciousness-raising campaigns such as, for example, the 'black flag' campaign. This campaign is an ironic response to the European Union's Blue Flag awards (which, from the environmentalists' point of view, use questionable criteria to determine which beaches merit this award) and gives black flags to beaches which are considered to be environmentally unsound. The list of black flags is published (58 such flags were 'awarded' in Andalucía in 2010), and demonstrations are routinely planned on these beaches to highlight the problems (EAA 2010).

EAA's work as an environmental watchdog is varied. One of its most effective tactics is to monitor compliance with environmental laws. For example, EAA reported 5 cases to the EU in 2003 as well as 260 cases to the Andalusian courts; it also reports thousands of cases to SEPRONA, the environmental unit which is part of the Guardia Civil, the Spanish police force (Ruiz Caparrós 2006).

However, in addition to its role as environmental advisor or watchdog, EAA is also fundamentally committed to working towards an environmentally sustainable and socially equitable society. EAA therefore mobilises opposition to plans which run counter to the organisation's *raison d'être*. It has organised countless demonstrations against, for example, building a plethora of new power stations; the expansion of the port of Seville; the setting up of a tyre incineration plant in Aznalcóllar; the building of new roads rather than improving rail services; the presence of the Tireless submarine in Gibraltar; the introduction of trams to many of Andalucía's capital

cities; voting ‘yes’ to the European constitution and, most recently, the *Junta*’s decision to allow construction work (financially driven developments) to be undertaken in protected areas. Their campaigning has been so successful that the Andalusian appeal court revoked the *Junta*’s decision to change a planning law.

EAA does not shy away from being conflictive and radical, and on many occasions is at the forefront of demonstrations which pit it against the establishment. Because of this, there is a conflict of interest in that some of its funding comes from the authorities and the EMO acknowledges that the question of collaborating with local and regional authorities is a persistent and conflictive issue raised at meetings. The issue is potentially problematic in that EAA’s appeal at present lies in its coherent image, its apparent sincerity and commitment to particular causes. If the social cohesion of the movement were seriously undermined, it is hard to see how the organisation could continue to attract supporters, as EAA is only too aware.

The organisation also admits to needing to increase its membership. A comparison between the membership of EAA and Friends of the Earth Scotland demonstrates the low membership of the Andalusian organisation (see Table 6.5) in comparison to its Scottish counterpart. FOE Scotland has proportionally twice as many members as EAA and appears to confirm the commonplace view that Spain has a deficient civic culture (Subirats 1999) and, by inference, a weak environmental movement; however, as previously discussed such an interpretation overlooks Spaniards’ reluctance to join associations and the PESM’s ability to galvanise considerable support for specific occasions.

Table 6.5 Comparative membership of EAA and FOE (Scotland)

| | Total members | Population of Region/country | Members per total population |
|--------------|---------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| EAA | 3,100 | 7 000 000 | 1 per 2258 |
| FOE Scotland | 4,600 | 5 000 000 | 1 per 1086 |

Source: correspondence with EAA and FOE (Scotland) 2008

Many EAA activists have been with the EMO for 20 to 30 years and are conscious of the need to sign up more young people (Ruiz Caparrós 2006); it appears that they have been successful in doing so according to figures provided for the last few years. These show that membership is rising: the number of EAA members in 2006, 2008 and 2010, respectively, are 2,500, 3,100 and 4,000. Given Andalusians' reluctance to becoming paying members of an organisation (as stated repeatedly at the 2007 Annual EA Conference), these figures represent a modest success.

There is no formal link between EAA and LVA. At first, this was based on EAA's mistrust of the party but in more recent years the separation is principally expedient. EAA is keen to emphasise its apolitical status, but unofficial cooperation between these two formations (as well as between sections within the trade unions and IU) is a regular feature of ecologism in the region. Many of the region's green party activists belong to the EMO and some ecologists (for example, Andrés Sánchez, one time spokesperson for EA in Almería, then spokesperson for LVA) have been active in both at one time and another.

There is no doubt whatsoever that, as far as PE is concerned, an EMO such as EA is actively living and working to implement its philosophy on a daily basis. EA members demonstrate their commitment to political change by attending weekly meetings and by trying to create a social ecology network. This is in sharp contrast with the Spanish Green parties or 'proto-parties' (Lucardie 2000) who, until recently, tended to lapse into inactivity between one election period and the next (although social networking has changed this previous trend). The next section analyses the development and fortunes of the region's Green party, LVA.

6.3 THE ANDALUSIAN GREENS

This section provides a diachronic account of LVA, the region's undisputed Green party, and will examine the chain of events and strategies that have led to Andalucía's Greens being substantively different from the Catalan Greens. Unlike the Catalans, LVA has not suffered from intraparty fragmentation and yet the party, in different ways, has been constrained by a number of exogenous and endogenous

factors which will also be examined. The case of the Andalusian Greens is of interest for two main reasons in the present study. Firstly, it allows one to compare the development of Green party politics in two of the ‘strongholds’ of Spanish PE. Secondly, the Andalusian Greens were for many years the most dominant regional Green party in LV, and subsequently in CLV. Consequently, until recently they have been largely responsible for steering Green party policy and strategy in Spain.

6.3.1 LVA: The early years 1989-1993

LVA was legally registered as a party in September 1989; until then, the Andalusian Greens were simply part of *Los Verdes* (LV), established in 1984. The first election¹³⁹ LVA contested was the 1989 general election. Since then, LVA has pursued a range of electoral options which have an underlying logic if one applies Müller et al.’s (1999) theory that parties are either office-seeking, policy-seeking or vote-seeking.

LVA has clearly pursued an office-seeking strategy. At times, it has stood alone as an independent Green party whilst at other times it has made pre-electoral coalitions or alliances with other parties. In some cases, these alliances have been carried out at a statewide level and have included much of LV; other alliances have just restricted themselves to the regional level. Table 6.6 (below) presents an overview of LVA’s electoral history by listing the elections contested, whether LVA stood alone or in an alliance and what the outcome was. When LVA stands alone, this is indicated by a red star (★). When it is in a coalition, the star is in a purple box (☐) which contains another symbol – that of the party LVA is allied with.

¹³⁹ In 1986, *Los Verdes* stood in the general election in Valencia and Madrid only. In 1987, The Andalusian Greens fielded one list in the municipal elections in the city of Seville. Elsewhere, they did not present any lists.

Table 6.6 Diachronic table providing overview of LVA's electoral history, alliances and outcomes

| Year | Elections /alliances (also indicated by ⇔ in 1st column) | Greens in office/other comments | 'Green' parties |
|-----------|---|--|-----------------|
| 1987 | Local elections: | Presented one list only in Seville and got 0.6% of vote | ★ * |
| 1989 | General election: | | 人 ✂ * |
| 1990 | Regional election: | | 人 ★ * |
| 1991 | Local elections: | 4 green councillors elected: 3 standing on IU list and one 'independent ecologist'. | 人 ★ * |
| 1993 ⇔ | General election: LVA joins IULVCA in December | LVA stand alone | 人 ★ * |
| 1994 ⇔ | Regional election: in IULVCA coalition | 2 green regional MPs elected on IULVCA list. One becomes senator in Congreso | ★ * |
| 1995 ⇔ | Local elections: in IULVCA coalition | 5 green councillors elected on IULVCA list | ★ * |
| 1996 ⇔ | General and regional election: By end of year, LVA leave IULVCA | | ★ * |
| 1999 ⇔ | Local elections: LVA allied with <i>Izquierda Andaluza</i> | 10 councillors | ★ ★ ✂ |
| 2000 ⇔ | General and regional election: LVA allied with PSOE-A (the Andalusian federation of PSOE) | 1 regional MP (on PSOE list) 1 post in Andalusian government | ★ ★ PS |
| 2003 | Local elections: LVA stood independently | NIVA got 11 councillors LVA got 1 councillor | # ★ * |
| 2004 ⇔ | General and regional election: LVA continues PSOE-A alliance For general and regional elections | Did not want regional MP. 3 posts in regional government. 1 MP in national parliament | # ★ ★ ★ PS |
| 2007 | Local elections: LVA stands alone in local elections | 10 green councillors; 7 NIVA councillors | # ★ ★ * |
| 2008 | General and regional elections: | | ★ ★ * |
| 2009 ⇔ | European elections: LVA is on Europe of the People-Greens (EP-V) list | EP-V = left-wing, nationalist alliance. Wins one seat | ★ ✂ * |

Source: based on a number of different sources

★ = LVA
 人 = *Los Verdes Ecologistas* ('silo sect')
 ✂ = VERDE
 * = IULVCA retained its 'green' acronym after departure of LVA in 1997
 ✂ = *Izquierda Andaluza*
 # = NIVA – a new left-green alternative, which regards itself as the Andalusian ICV
 ✂ = Europe of the People
 [Purple box] = Purple box indicates that LVA has presented joint lists with another party at election time.

⇔ = Pre-electoral alliance

In the first few years of its existence (1989-1993), LVA suffered the same problems as its counterparts in other Spanish regions, namely voter confusion caused by the two rogue parties, LVE and VERDE. In spite of this, in the 1991 municipal elections LVA obtained a respectable (if insufficient) percentage of votes in the major cities where it stood – about 2.3% – and won a few seats where the local Green candidate had negotiated a place on IU's list. This strategy gave LVA their first seats on local councils (4 seats) and was an early harbinger of the direction the party would soon take.

In the early 90s, throughout the Spanish state, some of the regional Green parties – foremost amongst them LVA – increasingly recognised the impossibility of winning a seat as an independent party. One possible solution, particularly important in Andalucía given the importance of IU in the region, was the option of negotiating an alliance with this party¹⁴⁰. The interest was reciprocal in that some IU activists (particularly non-PCE, alternative left members of the IU coalition) were increasingly sympathetic to the ecosocialist approach or were aware of the desirability of greening IU's image. There were personal, historic links between alternative-left groups and the Greens and, although the two parties were rivals, unofficially the militants from both formations inhabited similar social networks and were often involved in the same political and social movements, particularly the PESM (Larios 2008; Garrido 2006). These informal deliberations took place in private and did not resurface until after the Greens' failure to make any inroads in the 1993 general election.

LVA played an important role in this election as its spokesperson, Francisco Garrido, was also spokesperson of LV at statewide level. As the Greens' leading candidate, it was thought strategically necessary for him to stand on a list for Madrid, where the press was confidently anticipating that the Greens would win a seat. Garrido's decision was an interesting one: despite his championing of regional politics, at this stage he opted to head a Madrid list, a decision which was unpopular with many Madrid activists and also alienated some Andalusian supporters. In the event, Garrido secured only 1.1% of the vote.

¹⁴⁰ There were also rumours that some Green leaders were involved in talks with PSOE (Cabal 1996; El País)

6.3.2 The IULVCA coalition

Following on from this disappointment and despite pre-election assurances that LV was not contemplating a coalition or alliance with another party, at the end of 1993 LV became CLV. LVA renewed negotiations with IU and decided to join IU's Andalusian Federation, forming a coalition called IULVCA (*Izquierda Unida Los Verdes Convocatoria por Andalucía*, United Left The Greens Calling on Andalucía). A number of Spain's regional green parties opposed the Andalusians' decision, thus weakening the Confederation which became a somewhat hollow structure: whilst some of the regional parties remained within LVA's sphere (a few also opting to reach an *ad hoc* flexible accommodation with IU) others steered away from any involvement with IU. LVA pursued its own pragmatic strategy: at regional level, they were subsumed into IULVCA whilst at the same time they continued to play a leading role within the statewide confederation where they maintained a high profile. The main instigator of this approach was Francisco Garrido (Larios 2008; Cabal 1996; Puig 2007), the most visible Green in Andalucía (and in Spain).

The party's attempts to make political headway were initially successful. In the 1994 Andalusian regional election, IULVCA won 20 seats as against 13 in the previous election, and two members of LVA – Francisco Garrido and Alvaro Martinez – were elected as regional MPs. The latter, moreover, became a regional senator in the Senate, the Spanish upper house of parliament (some of the Senate seats are assigned indirectly to regional elected representatives). In the municipal elections in the following year LVA won a number of seats thanks to being on the IULVCA lists (4 seats in the major 4 cities, 3 further seats in sizeable towns and a number of other seats in small towns throughout the region).

Although the election of two LVA politicians as regional MPs gave the party a welcome visibility, its incursion into government proved to be a very uncomfortable one. In 1994 the Andalusian parliament was rendered inoperative due to PSOE not having a majority (see Table 6.7), thus being unable to pass any laws or have its budget approved due to the infamous 'pincer alliance' which saw PP and IULVCA consistently voting down PSOE.

Table 6.7 Results of Andalusian 1994 and 1996 Regional Elections

| | Seats 1994 | Seats 1996 |
|--------|-------------------|-------------------|
| PSOE-A | 45 | 52 |
| PP | 41 | 40 |
| IULVCA | 20 | 13 |
| PA | 3 | 4 |

Source: Valencian Government Web-site 2008

After two troubled years, PSOE had to call another regional election and IULVCA's political manoeuvres were shown to have backfired when it lost one third of its seats. PSOE made a post-electoral alliance with PA and obtained the necessary majority to govern. Meanwhile, the loss of so many IULVCA seats meant that none of the LVA candidates won a seat in the regional parliament, thus unleashing an internal crisis within LVA.

The period between 1993-1997 demonstrated LVA's determination to seize some power at any cost. Garrido, who early in 1993 had denounced IU as adopting a greenwash merely to improve its electoral prospects and had denied any prospect of a IU/LV coalition (El País 17/04/1993), repeatedly asserted his loyalty and faith in IULVCA once they were part of the coalition. During the years in which LVA was part of the IULVCA coalition, they were fully integrated into the coalition's organisation: there were 30 LVA members on IULVCA's Andalusian council (out of a total of about 200 delegates) and two LVA activists on IULVCA's regional executive (Larios 2008).

LVA's official account of this period is that it decided to leave the coalition in 1997 because the Greens had been sidelined and subjected to the uncompromising organisational structure of what remained essentially a communist party, governed from the centre, lacking green policies and with a democratic deficit (Garrido 2006; El País 23/11/1997).

However, this version of events obscures a more complex explanation. After IULVCA's downturn in the 1996 regional elections in March, recriminations abounded within the coalition and there were calls for the party leader to stand down. By July 1996, Francisco Garrido had been chosen by four different factions within IULVCA as a candidate to lead the coalition, with the idea of bringing about a change of direction or renewal of IULVCA – to form a pluralist, more democratic party in which no one group – i.e. PCA, the Andalusian communist party – dominated (Larios 2008). However, when the members of IULVCA met to choose a new regional leader, 66% of the votes went to the communist candidate and only 9% to Garrido. In spite of these figures, however, the communist candidate's support was tenuous: there had been many abstentions, much machination, and only last minute changes of allegiance deprived Garrido of a far better result. For a few months, therefore, LVA continued to battle within the party, hoping to unseat the new regional coordinator (in a meeting in September the leader's position was ratified but with a significant downturn of support). Once it became clear to LVA that IULVCA was unwilling to countenance a renewal of the party and that the Greens had become a marginal and irrelevant presence within it, they left the alliance.

6.3.3 Towards a new alliance with PSOE: 1997-2007

Between 1997 and 2000, during which time the party still maintained close contact with IULVCA dissenters whilst at the same time holding exploratory talks with PSOE, the party remained independent for a while, but in 1999 formed an ad hoc alliance with a left-wing coalition called *Izquierda Andaluza* (Andalusian Left – formerly a tendency within IULVCA) and contested the 1999 municipal elections with them, winning 10 seats in Andalucía (5 of these in a small town, Puebla de Don Fadrique¹⁴¹, which became the first town in Andalucía to have a green mayor).

In 2000, a year of both regional and general elections in Andalucía, LVA signed a pre-electoral alliance – for the regional elections alone – with PSOE-A (namely, the Andalusian federation of PSOE). Sánchez and Cervantes, two members of the LVA executive, stated that an electoral alliance with PSOE was essential at regional level

¹⁴¹ The council in this town consists of only 11 seats and, on this occasion, other parties of the left joined the greens to oust a particularly corrupt previous mayor.

in that ‘a political option which has no institutional presence simply doesn’t exist (2000)’. In return for LVA’s endorsement of PSOE-A, the latter agreed to place a Green candidate high up on their list as well as ensuring that LVA would be given some posts in the regional government. PSOE-A also agreed to increase its commitment to environmental measures, enshrined in a 50 point programme in which PSOE-A committed itself to the environmental modernisation of Andalucía. During the 2000-2004 Andalusian parliament LVA duly had one MP, Inmaculada Gálvez, who was part of the governing PSOE group, whilst a member of LVA’s executive, Angel Ramírez Troyano¹⁴², was given the post of Director General of Environmental Education in the regional government, a department within the Regional Ministry of the Environment.

LVA renewed their electoral alliance with PSOE-A for the 2004 regional election but negotiated a different deal. It decided to waive the right to Green representation in the Parliament as this was judged to have brought no benefits at all. The party alleged that the Green parliamentarian, Inmaculada Gálvez, had been a bit of a maverick, causing considerable problems to the socialists and embarrassment to LVA. This is the official version but, according to other sources, Gálvez was ill-advised by the LVA leadership to plead illness and abstain from voting in a motion where her vote was essential to PSOE; when attacked by PSOE for making them lose the motion, LVA’s leaders allowed Gálvez to take the blame (Interview with party activist 2008).

Instead of seeking parliamentary representation, therefore, and in a move to optimise their ability to impact on policy, LVA bargained for, and obtained, three posts in the regional government. From 2004-2008 there were three Greens heading departments of Sustainability, Environmental Education and Organic Farming, the first two in the Ministry for the Environment and the third in the Agriculture Ministry.¹⁴³

¹⁴² The post was initially given to José Larios in 2000, but he only held it for one year when forced to resign by Garrido, who stated that he was making too many compromises.

¹⁴³ Andrés Sánchez was the Junior Regional Minister for Sustainability in the regional Ministry of the Environment; Francisco Oñate was Director General for Environmental Education and Sustainability (in the Ministry of the Environment) and Manuel González Molina was the Director General for Organic Farming in the Andalusian Ministry of Agriculture

The decision to put Greens in important administrative positions initially paid dividends for both parties. LVA played an important role as a catalyst for environmental progress within the regional government and Andalucía certainly made significant progress in environmental policy-making during the two legislatures in which LVA contributed to policy making (2000-2004 and 2004-2008). The socialists capitalised on the expertise of ecologists they had enlisted (including LVA) to maximise the incorporation of new, environmentally-friendly policies which put the region in the environmental vanguard whilst at the same time securing EU funding. However, the regional government – despite early promises – failed to tackle a number of the issues it had undertaken to address in its electoral agreement with the greens. LVA distanced itself increasingly from PSOE and, at a party conference in late 2007, decided not to renew its alliance with PSOE. However, the designated administrators continued to run their respective departments until the 2004-2008 government came to a close.

At statewide level, in 2004 LVA also signed a pre-electoral alliance with PSOE for the general election that year. It was thought that the fight between PSOE and PP would be a very close one, particularly in Andalucía where, in 2000, PP had won only two seats less than PSOE. The socialists' list for Seville included Francisco Garrido who won a seat in the *Congreso*, thus becoming the first elected Green MP.

However, LVA's decision to contest the general election on the PSOE lists caused serious problems within the CLV. The Confederation (led by Garrido, supported by most of the LVA faction and by Greens from a few other regions) decided that all the parties within the Confederation would stand on the PSOE ticket (according to the statutes of the Confederation, regional federations are free to draw up their own strategy about local and regional elections; however, decisions as to general elections fall to the Confederal central committee). However, many regional Green parties refused to follow this strategy and opted to stand independently, ally with IU or form an alliance with other local groups. In retrospect, the 2004 general election marked another defining moment in the history of the Spanish Greens. Despite having a seat

in the *Congreso* (later two) and a Green MEP on the socialist list, the party became increasingly fragmented largely because of CLV's decision to stand with PSOE.

LVA's decision to strengthen their understanding with PSOE was never anything but a pragmatic move: at national level, it was designed to give the Greens greater visibility, to allow Garrido to champion Green causes from within the parliament, to bring some money into LVA's coffers and serve as a launching pad for future elections (Interview with Garrido 20/07/07). Initially, it was intimated to Garrido that he would be given a post within the Ministry for the Environment, but this failed to materialise. As his term in office progressed the joint programme signed by LV and PSOE revealed itself to be entirely irrelevant (PSOE/green electoral programme 2008); Garrido became increasingly disengaged from PSOE, although he didn't resign his seat in parliament and continued to use it as a platform to disseminate Green ideas. However, he also made it clear that he would not be renewing the LVA-PSOE alliance.

6.3.4 In search of a new direction: 2008-

In 2007, there were municipal elections¹⁴⁴ and LVA, which had announced that the Greens would stand alone (*El País* 14/05/2006), made a determined effort to break the party's electoral ceiling. The party fielded more candidates than ever before, reaching 49% of the region's electorate. One of the key issues on LVA's agenda was the question of unbridled property speculation, and the party was confident that it would gain quite a number of seats on this highly contentious issue which other parties were failing to tackle.

The party secured just 10 seats: five of these went to LVA¹⁴⁵, and five seats were won by an LVA-worker's association¹⁴⁶ coalition in one small town of 3,470 inhabitants (Villanueva del Rosario, Malaga) where the coalition mounted a

¹⁴⁵ Three LVA councillors were elected in the Alpujarras, a region of rural mountain villages in the province of Granada, where Gerald Brenan once lived and which now has a big influx of foreign residents. These include Chris Stewart, once drummer with the British band Genesis and a long-time resident of this area, who stood for councillor on the Green list for his local town of Órgiva but failed to secure a seat.

¹⁴⁶ *Unión de Trabajadores-Los Verdes 2007* (Worker's Union- The Greens 2007)

particularly effective campaign to fight the previous council's approval to build a large development (including a golf course and 1,000 new homes). As Villanueva del Rosario's town council consists of 11 councillors, LVA, with the backing of IULVCA, was able to take control of the council. This case has given LVA a green mayor, and is the second time the Andalusian Greens have controlled a town.

After these disappointing results, the party maintained a low profile. Garrido stepped down as LVA spokesperson in 2007, shortly after the municipal elections, and was replaced by a younger spokesperson, Andrés Sánchez, originally an *Ecologistas en Acción* activist. The party stood alone at the 2008 general and regional elections obtaining 0.32% and 0.58% of the votes respectively (see Appendix B for an overview of general and regional election results).

The most recent elections contested by LVA have been the 2009 European Parliament elections. Despite the need to form statewide alliances, LVA rejected the *Hondarribia* ecologists's call to form a single Green statewide candidacy including ICV. LVA could not agree on details with ICV and was suspicious of the latter's connections with IU. Relations between LVA and IU have become increasingly bitter as a result of the IULVCA alliance between 1993-1997; predictably, also, it would not create an alliance with the other green group of parties, *Los Verdes-Grupo Verde*. Consequently, LVA, heading a reduced group of Green parties under the CLV banner, opted to stand on a left-wing, nationalist list called *Europa de los Pueblos-Verdes* (EP-V, or the European Peoples Party – Greens, an alliance that included ERC, CHA, BNG (Galician), Aralar and EA (both Basque) and a Majorcan party (the coalition did not include the Andalusian nationalist party, PA, which opted not to join the coalition because LVA was part of it). As already outlined in Chapter 4, EP-V won one seat which will be rotated amongst the first four names of the list. LV-GV – which until recently has not done well in Andalucía, obtained 0,31% as opposed to LVA-EP-V's 0.22%.

In the latter half of 2009 and throughout 2010, LVA has gradually changed direction and, a little belatedly, has opted to go with Equo, the new political foundation set up

by Juanxo López de Uralde, the former president of Greenpeace Spain. LVA has publicly stated its support for Equo and in June 2011 was one of 30 groups that came together to put together a manifesto and joint programme for the 2012 general election in Spain, by which time Equo's new 'party' will have been founded. However, the Andalusian Greens seem to have lost their regional identity over the last couple of years. In the 2011 municipal elections, various Green parties loosely supporting Equo stood under different names. Two further left/ecologist/nationalist foundations have also emerged, one statewide (*Espacio Plural* or Plural Space) and one Andalusian (*Paralelo 36*, P36). Francisco Garrido, the former LVA spokesperson and MP, now defines himself politically as representing P36. All of these groups collaborate with each other but, and many activists belong to all three of them. The impression this gives is that the activists are hedging their bets to see which formation will emerge as the contender for the 2012 general election. If it's a manifestation of LVA, then the party will remain predominantly Green, with the addition of some IU defectors. If P36 and *Espacio Plural* prosper, then a new coalition including the Greens might also include PA.

This section has chronicled the history of LVA (1989-2010) and has shown that, despite their poor electoral performance, coalition with two different parties (IU and PSOE) has given the party access to office and an opportunity to influence the policy agenda from within the institutions; however, this tactic has increased the division within CLV at statewide level and has, in the long term, weakened LVA's position. The following section will further examine this issue as well as further barriers that have prevented the party from achieving electoral success, highlighting the differences between the Andalusian and the Catalan cases.

6.4 LVA: ENDOGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS BARRIERS

LVA's electoral results (see Appendix B) over the last 20 years demonstrate the party's inability to achieve even a modest electoral success. The factors which militate against LVA are manifold but certainly cannot be attributed to a lack of interest in PE. These factors broadly fall within four categories which will be

examined in turn: the region's political culture; party competition and encroachment; party strategy, and LVA's failure to establish a distinct identity. Although these constraints are identical to those faced by the Catalan Greens, regional circumstances have resulted in a very different outcome.

6.4.1 *Andalucía's political culture*

As previously discussed in Chapter 4, Spain's electoral system makes it very difficult for small parties to achieve electoral success in general elections and, to a slightly lesser degree, in regional elections. However, the constraints of the electoral system are less dominant at municipal level, where a strong, enthusiastic and well-targeted campaign allows smaller parties – such as IULVCA, PA and CUT-BAI – to secure a large number of seats on councils. For example, in the 2007 municipal elections, the nationalist parties together obtained roughly 1,000 seats on councils, largely the same number as IULVCA (as opposed to PSOE's 4,300 seats and PP's 2,300 seats)¹⁴⁷.

LVA's only electoral 'victories' (i.e. occasions on which it has won a seat as an independent Green party) have been at municipal level and have been attributable to dedicated and well-liked local individuals who have managed to secure one seat; on just a couple of occasions, a small town has unexpectedly become a green stronghold as a result of a particular set of circumstances. The small town of Puebla de Don Fadrique (in the province of Granada) is a case in point (Interview with activist 2009) and the story of the Greens' rise and demise in this town also serves to illustrate the difficulties faced in the region due to the prevailing political culture.

In the 1995 local elections (when LVA was in IULVCA) one LVA candidate belonging to the aforesaid coalition was elected onto the local council and was a vocal opponent of the governing PSOE: after a couple of years of terrible mismanagement and corruption, the Green councillor presented a plan to the council to get it out of debt and help to manage the town's affairs more efficiently. The council agreed and the single Green councillor became mayor of the town in mid-

¹⁴⁷ In the May 2011 municipal elections, PSOE lost considerable support. It won 3840 seats as against PP's 3148; IULVCA secured 1104 seats but the nationalists' support fell back considerably and they only held on to 470 seats.

term. In the subsequent local elections of 1999, the same green councillor (now LVA, given that the IULVCA coalition had ended) and four other greens won five seats (out of 11) on the council and, with the support of a IULVCA councillor, were able to continue at the head of the town hall. During these four years, the town's debts were paid off, services improved substantially, and the local government was run without a trace of corruption (local governments in Spain are notoriously prone to cronyism). For example, none of the five green councillors awarded themselves a salary for being councillors.

However, at the next local elections in 2003, LVA didn't win any seats at all and for a number of reasons: having cast their protest votes once, many of the town's inhabitants felt it was time to return to 'their' party, PSOE; moreover, the green mayor had put a stop to illegal construction – a very unpopular move because it created jobs in the town – and had scaled down the local fiestas in order to pay off the town's overdraft. PSOE mounted an ostentatious election campaign which promised largesse and more benefits for the citizens whereas the Green mayor (without a powerful party to provide support and exhausted from holding down a day job as a teacher as well as his post as town mayor) hardly mounted a campaign at all. Consequently, in spite of his proven record, in 2003 he wasn't re-elected and the town returned to 'normality'. In 2007, LVA stood once again but, despite a convincing campaign intended to rout out the corruption which was once again becoming endemic within local government, failed to win any seats. This account exemplifies the difficulties for a small party like LVA to break into the Andalusian party system where the traditional left-right cleavage is dominant.

The concept of the 'Two Spains' is extremely important in Andalucía where there is little middle ground between a very traditional *bourgeoisie* and the left-wing workers. Consequently, in spite of Andalucía's reputation as the heartland of PSOE, the party's position in the region is by no means hegemonic. Support for PSOE is more prevalent in the rural areas than in the major cities, most of which are PP strongholds (since the May 2011 municipal elections, the capitals of all eight provinces are now controlled by PP).

Smaller parties win more council seats in rural areas, where PSOE is the dominant party, followed by IU and PA. Whilst the example of Puebla de Don Fadrique¹⁴⁸ illustrates that the system does not prevent the Greens from winning a council election, it also highlights just how hard it is for LVA to make any headway given the prevailing political culture. In more rural areas, where voters are more likely to vote for the left, local government is dominated by a clientelism which is considered acceptable because of the material benefits it supposedly brings to the district and to individuals. Ecologists continue to be viewed as a short-term, protest solution and have to contend with very difficult conditions when they run for power. They are routinely threatened: in previous electoral campaigns an Andalusian ecologist's house was set on fire, others have received threatening letters, and one had superglue poured into all the locks of his car. Above all, in small towns – where everyone knows everyone else – life can be made very uncomfortable for Green candidates who put themselves up for election against the prevailing party in power. Furthermore, the Greens also have to contend with the popular perception that they are 'ecologists' (i.e. alternatives), lack the dignity and standing required of a local councillor and are therefore not a serious option. Traditional loyalty to PSOE is also deeply ingrained amongst older people who see this party as responsible for the dramatic social and economic improvements in the region over the last 30 years.

In urban areas, where LVA expects to find most of its voters, the problem is different. Because of the preponderance of PP votes in the cities, left-leaning voters are nervous of ushering in the right by 'wasting' a vote on LVA and therefore adhere to the prevailing political culture of the left which stresses the need to keep faith with the traditional left-wing parties.

There is, of course, a core group of alternative left voters in the region, but these vote for IULVCA, a coalition comprising the PCA as well as a number of alternative left parties and independent groups that cater for those who are disaffected with PSOE's politics. Once again, the case of the Puebla de Don Fadrique's ecologists serves to

¹⁴⁸ See also the case of Villanueva del Rosario (on page 270) where LVA obtained the majority on a council in 2007

illustrate this point. The ecologists in this town are determined to fight the local council in whatever way possible (they belong to EA and previously held council seats as LVA) and prior to the 2011 municipal elections discussed whether they should present an LVA list. In the end, they opted to present an IULVCA list, largely because the latter were able to offer more practical support and because the ecologists felt that the IULVCA logo carried more weight than the LVA one (Interview with activist 2011). In fact, IULVCA's position in Andalucía, in spite of its declining popularity, is particularly important. In the 2011 municipal elections, IULVCA won 1,104 council seats in Andalucía while, at statewide level, IU won a total of 2,230 seats. In other words, half the party's council seats are held in one region, Andalucía.

6.4.2 Party competition and encroachment

At first sight, LVA would appear to inhabit a more hospitable political climate than its Catalan counterparts given that LVA has always been Andalucía's dominant (and, for the most part, only) Green party, and certainly has not faced the constant fragmentation besetting the Catalan Greens. This is quite a feat given that the considerable rivalry and tension that has always existed between the provincial subparties in each of the Andalusian provinces could have resulted in the fragmentation of LVA. However, the party has also had to face competition from other parties.

Rogue parties

As previously outlined, LV spent the first few years of its life competing against VERDE¹⁴⁹ and LVE, a situation which also affected LVA. In the last ten years there has been a further instance of another 'rogue' party, namely NIVA (*Nueva Izquierda Verde Andaluza* or Andalusian New Green Left) which has won a number of seats in local elections since 2003.

NIVA's leader is a former IU councillor who broke away from IU in 2003. The party stands in just a few small towns, where it has won a number of seats (10 in 2007 and 7 in 2011). However, its record in local government has been thoroughly inconsistent

¹⁴⁹ VERDE only stood once in Andalucía, in the 1989 General election.

with that of a green party and its discourse is not that of a green party. For example, in a document congratulating Zapatero on his electoral victory in 2004, it exhorts Zapatero to finish major road and rail works in Andalucía, a proposal which runs counter to PE policy (NIVA 2004). Given NIVA's very reduced sphere of influence, the party does not really compete with LVA, although it does help to fuel confusion as to what the Greens stand for.

Small protest parties

There are also new statewide protest parties that fulfil a role which the Greens played in their early days: disaffected voters can register their disenchantment with politics or focus on a single issue rather than opting for the major parties. Whilst the level of support these parties receive in Andalucía is small (the party which performed best out of these 'protest' parties in the 2008 general election was the anti-bullfighting party, PACMA, with 0.15% of the vote), the aggregated vote of all these small parties came to about 0.3% of the vote in the general election, only slightly less than LVA's share of the vote in the same elections.

The nationalist parties

Although nationalist parties in Andalucía are presently facing their own crisis, they still attract some votes which might otherwise be cast for LVA. PA (the largest of the nationalist parties) is in direct competition with LVA as it, too, is a left-wing party which is less left-wing than IU (LVA's own position); in addition to working towards creating a federal state (also one of LVA's objectives), PA 'guarantees the conservation of the cultural and natural heritage of the region so that it can be enjoyed by future generations', 'believes in the absolute priority of building a more just and egalitarian society', and of 'promoting peace and solidarity' (PA 2009)¹⁵⁰.

Like the Greens, PA predominantly appeals to middle class, university-educated voters who are mostly urban but identify with oppressed rural labourers and consider rural Andalucía to be of key importance. Moreover, cultural symbols connect the nationalists with ecologism. Foremost amongst these is the figure of Blas Infante

¹⁵⁰ A document, passed at the PA's 2009 Conference, highlights the party's commitment to PE.

(1885-1936), the founder of Andalusian nationalism and ‘father of Andalucía’: Infante has become central to legitimising the notion of Andalusian nationalism: he wrote the Andalusian national anthem, and designed the region’s flag and coat of arms. His green credentials are well-established: he is well-known as a pacifist as well as for his love of the Andalusian countryside – in his garden, he planted every variety of local tree. He was also a great animal lover who was vehemently anti-bull-fighting and kept a tame fox which accompanied him everywhere.

There is further common ground between LVA and PA. In 2007, when LVA was considering whether to renew its strategic alliance with PSOE, some Greens and nationalists were keen to re-launch a nationalist, left-wing party, *Izquierda Andaluza*, which briefly existed in 1999. In the 2009 EP elections, LVA again demonstrated its affinity with left-wing nationalism when it led CLV in forming an electoral alliance with EP-V. However, the LVA-PA affinity is a double-edge sword: there is also much rivalry between LVA and PA. Once it had been announced that LVA would be part of the EP-V list, PA opted to present its own list rather than sharing a platform with a ‘rival’ Andalusian party.

The rival parties previously mentioned (PA, NIVA and PACMA) undoubtedly catch some of the votes which might otherwise go to LVA but are not considered a serious problem to the party unlike the case of IULVCA, which will now be examined.

Izquierda Unida

LV and IU were both part of the anti-NATO social movement and were created in great part due to the impetus of the movement. LV pre-dated IU by about 18 months and, as already mentioned in Chapter 4.1, was invited but declined to form part of the IU coalition when the latter was founded. As a result, LVA and IU shared the alternative left political space and were consequently directly in competition with each other. However, the IU coalition could count on the organisational skills of the PCE and was an immeasurably bigger and more credible party, particularly in Andalucía, IU’s stronghold. Although IU has lost much of the support it once had, in

the 1990s – when the Greens were trying to establish themselves as a party – IU attracted many voters in Andalucía as shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Seats won by Izquierda Unida in the Andalusian Parliament

| Year | Seats won by IU out of total 109 seats |
|-------------|--|
| 1990 IU | 11 |
| 1994 IULVCA | 20 |
| 1996 IULVCA | 13 |
| 2000 IULVCA | 6 |
| 2004 IULVCA | 6 |
| 2008 IULVCA | 6 |

Source: Valencian Government website 2011

Given these circumstances, and after LV's high profile general election campaign failed to produce the anticipated electoral gains for the party in 1993, LVA opted to become part of the IU coalition in Andalucía. It could be argued that the 1993-1996 IULVCA alliance sounded the death knell of LVA largely because the Andalusian IU federation continued to call itself IULVCA after LVA abandoned the failed coalition in 1997; by retaining the ecosocialist label, IULVCA has thereby explicitly continued to compete for the green vote. Only the most committed green activists are aware of the history behind IULVCA and LVA and the average voter is therefore likely to see IULVCA as the Andalusian counterpart of the Catalan ICV, though this is far from being the case.

IULVCA can certainly lay some claims to being an ecosocialist party. The party includes a sizeable faction of committed ecologists who work from within the party to promote a more environmental agenda. Environmental campaigns in Andalucía nearly always include EAA activists, trade unionists and two parties who invariably lend their support, namely IULVCA and LVA (and clearly, the former is often far more visible, given its considerably greater resources).¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ One small but typical example of IU's environmental commitment is demonstrated by a plan in the city of Jaén to build a tram. This has necessitated pulling down a whole avenue of trees. The

However, IULVCA's ecologism is dependent on the individual members of discrete local groups and is not a core ideological principle of the party (see Appendix N for IULVCA's definition of its defining objectives and contrast the discourse with Appendix O which includes ICV and Scottish Green Party discourse). There are therefore many instances where IULVCA is revealed to be a socialist, rather than an ecosocialist, party. In Cordoba, for example, previously controlled by IULVCA, the council gave some developers the go-ahead to build a large number of houses and industrial developments which flouted regulations and ran counter to prevailing notions about sustainable housing. Similar actions have taken place in other cities and towns controlled by IU (LVA, 10/08/2006).

Whereas the ideological gap between IU and LVA was initially clearly defined by the latter's very different positions on economic growth, the difference between the two parties in the last 10 – 15 years has become increasingly less clear cut (although LVA activists argue that, whilst the ecosocialist credentials of some individual IU members are undeniable, the IU party organisation is still very closed, and continues to be rooted in its communist past). However, as far as voters are concerned, the fact that the Andalusian IU retains the ecosocialist label (IULVCA) validates its claims to be the region's most effective 'Green' party.

The issue of IULVCA's 'appropriation' of the Green name and logo (see Figure 6.2) is probably the single most contentious issue for LVA who have repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, taken IULVCA to court in an attempt to prevent the latter from being able to use this name and logo.

councillor in charge of environmental affairs is from IU (IU and PSOE and governing the city in coalition) and finally agreed to the cutting down of the trees, in exchange for a series of concessions (including the planting of new trees elsewhere). The councillor in question had to face the opprobrium of all the local IU activists, who protested against the felling of the trees. The newspaper article which reports this incident refers to the councillor in question as a councillor for *IU-Los Verdes*, emphasizing the confusion which persists in the mind of the public. (El País, May 2009)

Figure 6.2 IULVCA's logo



Source: IULVCA Statutes 2011

Karamichas (2004) argues convincingly that it is hard for a Green party to be politically successful where it is competing with an alternative left party. This situation clearly pertains in Andalucía, but only goes some way towards explaining LVA's failure. After all, although Karamichas' theory holds true for many cases, there have also been examples of two alternative left parties concurrently enjoying a measure of success. For instance, the 2003 Elections to the Scottish Parliament returned seven Green MSPs and 6 Scottish Socialist Party (SSP) MSPs (Scottish Parliament 2003). In the Scottish case, although both parties could define themselves as being of the alternative left, there were clear ideological differences which made it easier for the voter to choose one rather than the other. In Andalucía, differentiating between the two parties is less clear because IU's logo, name and some of its actions have persuaded the voter that they are also a party with Green values

6.4.3 Weak party strategy and organisation

The following section will turn to examine endogenous factors that contribute to LVA's difficulties in consolidating its position.

One of the party's key problems has always been its organisational structure. Many of the party's early activists came from left-wing, Maoist or Marxist groups and were immersed in the world of small politics (Larios 2008). Although the party statutes established that LVA would operate through 'grass-root, open democracy' (LVA 1989), the reality was very different, with leading activists being surrounded by their own coterie of followers and an atmosphere of intrigue: as in many green parties, there was a 'realo' and a 'fundi' camp, and in the case of the Andalusian Greens the

pragmatists (realos) have held sway until now. Party meetings are fraught and disagreement is routine; in the build up to election campaigns the core activists take decisions without consulting the party, thus increasing internal tension within the party. To compound these problems, LVA only counts on small groups of factionalised activists, and lacks the resources to get their message across.

The party has failed to build up its membership. In 2006, LVA had a paid-up membership of 800, a low figure which, however, should not be used to assess the party's following. In keeping with the traditional Spanish tendency for low membership of political parties (Padró-Solanet 1996; Ramiro & Morales 2004), most LVA members only join up officially to present themselves for election on LVA lists (the local elections alone require at least about 600 people to put themselves on a list). Consequently, party members are usually involved in activity during the electoral campaigns but the rank and file is otherwise largely dormant and inoperative – unless groups convene for a particular PESM campaign (Larios 2006: 277).

The party's organisational structure is further complicated by the different spheres of influence which exist, above all, in Granada, Seville, Malaga and Cordoba. Relations between the different factions and their key activists are often difficult and there is considerable distrust, backstabbing and the carrying out of underhand operations. Operating within such a context has squandered much of the initial energy and enthusiasm of the party's most steadfast supporters. In this respect, LVA are similar to the Catalan Green-Greens.

One of the issues that has alienated potential supporters and the PESM relates to LVA's highly pragmatic strategy of forming alliances with other parties. In this respect, LVA has changed directions more often than other Spanish Green parties. The potential advantages of this strategy are clear but there are also disadvantages. The party has frequently not stood under its own name at election time, thus perhaps preventing it from being considered an established player in the regional party system. Furthermore, the preceding secret negotiations and consequent lack of

transparency contradict the party's claim to be democratic, participatory and not given to the political manoeuvring of other parties.

These endogenous factors have undoubtedly prevented the party from attracting more members or voters for a number of reasons. Firstly, LVA's propensity to swing from one electoral alliance to another means that the party has never given itself a chance to establish a really strong identity as Andalucía's Green party. This problem has been exacerbated by the periodic changes in the party's name, a desire to reflect subtle changes of direction but confusing for the voters. For example, in the 2007 local elections LVA called itself *Los Verdes 2007*. In the 2011 municipal elections LVA stood as part of a Green coalition called *Los Verdes Andalucía Ecológica* (P36 Andalucía 2011). Although this new formation (influenced by Equo) is trying to reach out to all those who identify with PE – including social movements, the alternative left and the nationalists – it is difficult to understand why LVA has opted for yet another change of name and image. On the other hand, it is easy to see why the electorate is confused about who the Greens are.

6.4.4 LVA: a party with a weak identity

Another barrier to success for LVA is the party's poor image. Press coverage is minimal or for many years focused primarily on the eccentricities of the party. LVA have always felt that the press is swift to misrepresent them – perhaps with some justification – but the party's determination to be 'different' has sometimes played into the hands of a regional, conservative press. LVA's previous spokesperson, Garrido, once held a political meeting for dogs (Larios 2008), a gimmick which backfired when it played into the hands of the press.

The media, as a reflection but also a shaper of public opinion, has also played a role in fuelling mistrust towards the Greens. In 2006, LVA's Francisco Garrido, then an MP, was mocked by the press for his early day motion calling for gorillas to be accorded human rights. Ridicule was heaped upon the Greens but there were few apologies about a misunderstanding instigated by the press. The press also marginalises the Greens by downplaying their influence: their results are often

excluded in reports providing information about other parties that have performed less well than the Greens.

However, LVA behaves like an 'alternative' or movement-party in that it is dismissive of attempts to neaten its image and persists in engaging in gestures and actions which further feed the image of LVA as being less than a serious party. The emphasis that this is not politics as usual may attract a few people but looks more like the provocative gestures of an SM rather than an attempt to win seats.

For example, one of the posters for the 2003 municipal elections showed images of naked people, namely workers at the LVA headquarters. The slogan accompanying this poster was: 'Desnudos de intereses, libres por naturaleza'¹⁵² and their stated aim was to use a fresher, less bombastic and more ironic approach (LVA 2003). Despite confident assertions that they would win a seat on Seville City Council (i.e. at least 5% of the vote, in accordance with electoral regulations) on that occasion, LVA only obtained 1.34% of the vote even though it emerged as the fifth most voted party in Seville.

LVA's playful approach is also distrusted by many alternative-left voters who subscribe to the left's perception that the Greens' ideology is suspect and that the party is middle-class and essentially pursues life-style issues. Although party literature and manifestos over the years contradict this perception, media reports on electoral campaigns sideline LVA or pigeonhole it as a niche party with a narrow, lifestyle agenda. Consequently, over the years the press has highlighted LVA's call for the legalisation of cannabis, the introduction of more cycle lanes, and the provision of organic food in schools, hospitals and universities.

The media's sidelining of LVA means that most voters are largely unaware of the Greens. In a television interview on local television prior to the 2011 municipal

¹⁵² An impossibly difficult idea to translate but which literally states: 'naked of all interests, free (or independent) by nature'. The reference here was to the fact that LVA was the only Andalusian party to have resolutely denounced all the speculation taking place with the connivance of many town halls which had a vested interest in turning a blind eye to what was going on.

elections (all candidates who are number one on a list are given a 30 minute slot), the interviewer asked an LVA candidate about his party's 'recent' split with IULVCA – so recent, the interviewer said, that they retain the 'Green' element in the party name (<http://www.unacadiz.tv/video/entrevista-a-ivan-canca/673>). The interviewer's ignorance about LVA reflects a widespread lack of media interest in the Greens.

Any attention given to LVA by the media focuses on the party as a single issue party. This view of the Greens does not, in fact, do justice to the party's activities and documented output. By and large LVA's documents – such as its election manifestos – give a clear account of the party's comprehensive agenda, showing that their ideology is in line with that of mainstream Green parties and that their attention to specific policies is well thought through and coherent with their principles. However, as most studies show, this level of detail is rarely accessed by the voter, and is not reported by the media. The summary of LVA's programme for the 2007 municipal elections in Cordoba is provided in Appendix P, and demonstrates very clearly that the party has a coherent set of policies which, if implemented, would mark the start of a more ecological society.

6.5 ENVIRONMENTAL GAINS IN ANDALUCÍA

Until now, this chapter has focused on the constraints which have prevented the development of a stronger PESM and Green party in Andalucía. Despite these barriers, however, Andalucía's ecologists have made some piecemeal progress over the last 30 years. Admittedly, their goal – to bring about an ecologically just and sustainable society – is less attainable than it was when the ecology movement started. However, the expertise and passion which the region's ecologists have employed in raising awareness and advocating the introduction of cleaner technologies and more sustainable practices (in other words, ecological modernisation) have brought about a change in attitudes and policies. A few examples of this limited progress will be cited before moving on to examine, more specifically, how LVA – only a small part of the region's PESM – has been able to influence Andalucía's policy agenda.

6.5.1 Andalucía as an environmental pioneer

Andalucía's PESM (including ecologists from EMOs, IU, trade unions and LVA) has been instrumental in disseminating Green theory and praxis, and the expertise, active campaigning and commitment of many ecologists has ensured that Andalucía has become what Andersen and Liefferink (1997) call a pioneer in the implementation of environmental policy. A few examples will illustrate the region's leading position in some policy areas

In the year 2000, Andalucía generated only 146 megawatts (MW) of electricity through wind power; by May 2010, Andalucía had a wind power capacity of 2,863.71 MW and 130 wind farms (AAE 2010) – to put these figures in context, it is worth noting that in the same year Sweden generated 1,021 megawatts of electricity from wind power while the UK's capacity stands at 5,203.795 MW (UKWED 2011). Given that Andalucía has a population of 8.5 million as against the UK's 62.5 million, Andalucía's commitment to wind power is remarkable. In 2007 it increased its investment in wind power by 112% and 2008 and 2009 saw increases of 47% and 75% respectively. The 2007-2013 PASENER¹⁵³ Plan (Andalucía's Sustainable Energy Plan) aims to generate over 4,000 megawatts of wind power by 2013 and to double that by 2020. At present, wind power supplies the region with 10% of its electricity needs (AAE 2010).

The PASENER Plan seeks to cut energy consumption by increasing efficiency as well as moving over to the use of more renewable energy sources such as solar power which, until a few years ago, was almost non-existent in the region. Since 2004, when solar photovoltaic only generated 8.4 MW per year in Andalucía, it has grown exponentially and in 2009 its capacity increased to 1,407MW in the region (up 232% on the previous year) (AAE 2010; GWEC 2010).

The Andalusian government's second measure to green the region was the expansion of the region's organic farming sector. In 2001, 107,000 hectares (ha) were given over to organic farming; by 2006 this had risen to 537,000 ha and, in 2009, 866,000

¹⁵³ El Plan Andaluz de Sostenibilidad Energetica 2007-2013

ha were farmed organically. Andalucía accounts for 54% of Spain's organic farmland and this sector continues to expand: in 2009, and in spite of a recession, the sector in Andalucía increased by 10.55% on the previous year (in terms of the growing number of producers and of commodities) (Consejería de Agricultura y Pesca 2010).

The renewable and organic farming programmes exemplify the confluence of the ecologists' demands and government interests: the first provided the expertise and enthusiasm to drive these two policies forward, while the government drew financial benefit from generous EU funding awarded to encourage sustainable development and ecological modernisation schemes.

Another discrete example of the gradual greening of Andalucía is the increasing use of bicycles as a means of public transport. There has been widespread pressure from different organisations and EMOs since the late 1980s, but it is only in the last few years that measures have been introduced: it is estimated that the use of bicycles trebled between 2006 and 2009 in Andalucía. Successful municipal bicycle loan schemes have been introduced in Seville and Granada, and other cities are shortly following suit. Furthermore, the regional department responsible for energy saving measures, the *Agencia Andaluza de la Energía* (Andalusian Energy Agency) has also provided a further 2,000 free bicycles in different university towns and other small towns to promote the use of the bicycle as a sustainable, pollution-free and economical form of transport. The Andalusian scheme was in the vanguard of a wave of similar projects being implemented across Europe; the region's speed in seizing upon this new initiative is linked to the fact that the ecologists had already sown the seeds of this project.

The ecologists' message has, in fact, been so successful that, in 2011, a number of PP-governed Andalusian cities have renewed their commitment to an ambitious sustainable transport scheme and have secured financing from the European Regional Development Fund to promote public transport and the use of the bicycle

(thereby implementing the 2007-2013 PISTA Plan¹⁵⁴ which was drawn up when LVA had three representatives working in the Andalusian government).

In short, the ecologists' input to the process of ecological modernisation over the last years has undeniably helped to promote a 'greener' Andalucía. However, the underlying principles behind ecologists' reasons for advocating particular measures (renewables, organic farming, water efficiency, etc) have largely been sidelined and the material improvements have been used to perpetuate a quality of life which is unsustainable. Furthermore, the ecological measures outlined above have been introduced to generate economic wealth and consequently have proved to be unsustainable in practice. This is case of organic farming in Andalucía. Because most of the organic produce is exported, it is heavily packaged before being driven hundreds of miles to feed northern Europeans who value quality food in order to enhance their health.

Although the ecologists' radical ideas are being subverted by mainstream economic imperatives PE has at least secured a new respect for the region's resources. Furthermore, Andalucía's success in exporting organic foods has increased awareness in the value of the region's own products. The regional government has introduced the first Ecoplan to promote organic farming in Andalucía. One of its aims is to encourage Andalusians to buy organic, local produce.

6.5.2 LVA: working within and beyond the institutions

Despite LVA's inability to achieve electoral significance, there are two compelling reasons for arguing that LVA has played a key role in driving forward the green agenda in Andalucía: on the one hand, its alliances with bigger parties, and indeed its foray onto the political stage, have enabled the party to become a part of the administration – albeit in a minor capacity; on the other hand, LVA's political campaigning has constituted an important part of the activity undertaken by the political ecology movement as a whole. LVA has therefore been able to influence policy from within and beyond the institutions as the following paragraphs show.

¹⁵⁴ *Plan de Infraestructuras para la Sostenibilidad del Transporte en Andalucía 2007-2013* or the Andalusian Infrastructure Sustainable Transport Plan

Until 1994, LVA remained an unelectable anti-system party-movement, and as such its influence was limited to the dissemination of Green ideas and to activists' engagement with the region's environmental causes. By 1994 the party's leaders were determined to be part of the polity and therefore formed an alliance with IU. Although this coalition proved to be short-lived, it provided LVA with its first opportunity to break into local government as well as exercising some influence on the *Junta's* policy agenda.

The presence of two greens in the regional parliament enabled LVA to promote a number of environmental policies. LVA was instrumental in setting up a committee on renewable energy: this led to the expansion of a renewal energy programme called PROSOL (Larios 2006: 280). The programme's success was limited because it proved impossible to lift the ban on building wind parks at this stage. A further consequence of LVA's presence in the parliament was its greatly enhanced capacity to network and to access influence – this encouraged the social movements to strengthen their ties with the party which was able to act as an intermediary on occasions (Larios 2006: 280).

At local government level, LVA won five seats in 1995 (because of their alliance with IU) in big towns and cities and was also able to raise the profile of Green ideas by bringing new ideas and knowledge to the negotiating table in those five councils: they pushed for better water management, the setting up of local energy agencies, greener transport policies and town planning. Because they sat on many committees, they were able to influence the outcome of proposals and work towards a greening of some policies (Interview with party activist 2004).

LVA's next political opening took place in 2000, after the party had signed up to a pre-electoral alliance with PSOE at regional level. This resulted in the election of an LVA MP, Inmaculada Gálvez. In order to form a regional government, PSOE had to form a coalition with PA, which gave the ruling coalition a majority of just one seat: this allowed LVA to have a strong bargaining position. The *Junta* set up a new

Directorate General for Environmental Education, which was headed by a Green. This department started out as small and underfinanced but grew substantially, and introduced an ambitious programme. It involved the trade unions in environmental education, and supported initiatives and conferences on renewable energy and organic farming. It spearheaded a new approach to water management and also pushed for a comprehensive environmental tax which was to include ‘polluter pays’ taxation but also an environmental tax for tourists (based on a model introduced in the Balearic Islands by the greens). It also initiated a government-funded volunteering programme on environmental projects as well as introducing Ecobarometer, an annual comprehensive survey assessing the environmental attitudes and behaviour of people living in Andalucía. Finally, the Directorate General took on the task of trying to ensure that sustainability underpinned the policies of all regional government departments.

Before the general and regional elections in 2004, LVA renewed its regional alliance with PSOE but also signed up to an alliance for the general election. LVA elected not to be represented in the Andalusian parliament but instead bargained to be given control over two further additional Directorates: Sustainability and Organic Farming. Between 2004-2008, the LVA incumbents worked tirelessly – and with some success – to advance green policies in these areas. Their expert knowledge on prevailing environmental trends made them eminently suitable appointments and allowed them to promote policies which, though in keeping with EU best practice, would otherwise have been sidelined. Being fully conversant with the European Union’s environmental discourse, they were able to focus on prioritising ‘ecological modernisation’ or the notion that economic progress and the protection of the environment are compatible and are best achieved within a climate of dialogue, partnership and shared responsibility. LVA leaders are certain that many of Andalucía’s Green initiatives and socially progressive initiatives (for example, passive euthanasia) would never have been passed without the unceasing commitment shown by the Green departmental directors during these four years (Interview with LVA activist: 2006).

However, the LVA-PSOE pre-electoral pact also committed the *Junta* to implement a number of further policies which, in the event, were abandoned. One such case was the proposed environmental tax, elements of which were introduced although the idea of taxing tourists to the region was removed. Other measures which were part of the LVA-PSOE pact and which were abandoned included introducing a moratorium on GM crops, drawing up laws to prevent greenbelt land from being built on without rigorous planning procedures and the enacted of a new law to prevent more golf courses from being built. The LVA proposals which were abandoned were ones that prioritised sustainability rather than economic growth.

By 2007, tensions between LVA and PSOE at regional level were evident, although the Greens working in government departments continued to work tirelessly at their jobs. At the party conference at that end of that year, LVA voted against renewing its pact with PSOE for the 2008 elections, alleging that 'PSOE had only implemented 35% of the LVA proposals it had undertaken to introduce (El País 08/10/07).

At statewide level, the 2004-2008 PSOE-LVA alliance gave the Greens another substantive asset. In the 2004 general election LVA's spokesperson, Francisco Garrido, was on the PSOE list for Seville, and was elected to the *Congreso*. During his four years there he made the most of his status as a parliamentarian to introduce private members' bills and to campaign on behalf of green causes indefatigably. His presence in the parliament raised the Greens' profile, largely because his activities were more likely to be reported in the media. In 2006, for example, Garrido appeared in 61 different articles in *El País*.

Halfway through his term of office, it became clear that his relations with PSOE had foundered (the socialists did not need his vote, and he obviously had no bargaining tool) but he hung on till the end, largely to maintain a green presence in the parliament but also, as has been acknowledged, to draw a salary that permitted him to continue his activism. Garrido's election was symbolically important and, moreover, his position increased his opportunities to network among national parliamentarians, particularly ICV's Joan Herrera. As a result of their collaboration, a number of

unofficial groups were set up within the parliament to raise awareness and campaign on 'Green' issues – such as the abolition of bullfighting.

At local government level, the party's influence has been slight, given the low level of representation which they have achieved. As previously indicated, on a couple of occasions a small town has even had a green mayor, but these occurrences do not imply that the towns in question have embraced political ecology. The 'green' *ad hoc* parties in question have, until now, not translated their support into more long-term support in the municipality in question.

Since the 2000-2008 period when there were Greens in the *Junta*, much has changed. According to the Director General for Organic farming during that period, since the Greens have left the Regional Ministry for Agriculture, the organic programme has been significantly downsized. The budget for organic farming was reduced by 40% in 2010, a plan to promote organic farming has been abandoned, research in this area has come to a standstill, a programme to provide organic food to schools has been reduced by 80% and a similar project for hospitals has all but disappeared (Garrido Peña 2010). Even the IULVCA executive – commenting on an attempt to stop the building of a new oil refinery in 2008, after the Greens had left government – acknowledged that they could no longer rely on the *Junta* to scrutinise the project with due care. They stated that the Ministry concerned (and the central government) had completely changed their position. Whereas before they were demanding and vigilant about meeting environmental requirements and adopting sustainable policies, they had become suspiciously silent (IULVCA 2008).

6.5.3 A more environmental, but not an ecological, society

The years 2000-2008 undoubtedly witnessed the ecological modernisation of Andalucía. The collaboration of the Greens helped to drive a more environmentally proactive policy shift on a number of fronts; at the same time, the Greens' expertise was disseminated amongst government departments and, according to an LVA activist working in a ministry, initial cynicism about the Greens gave way to collaboration, and their departure was regretted by many (Larios 2008). The small

LVA team within the ministries also relied on numerous ecologists (unconnected with LVA) who helped to implement the new policies.

Since then, environmental concerns have been given less priority by the *Junta* but it would be perhaps incorrect to attribute this shift to the end of the LVA-PSOE pact. Since 2008, the region has been hit particularly badly by the effects of the credit crunch, with unemployment in the region registering 28.36% in December 2010 (INEM) and austerity measures which have undoubtedly led to cutbacks for sustainability and ecological modernisation (EM) measures.

Nevertheless, because of the investment of the past years, Andalucía's environmental policies have taken root. Attitudes towards the environment have shifted, the region continues to lead the field in the number of green jobs it has created – 91,517 (Andalucía Ecológica 2010) – and remains a pioneer as regards ecological modernisation. At the same time, the PESM's vigilance and readiness to denounce illegal practices has served as a check and has contained the worst excesses of a system which continues to prioritise economic growth – and therefore prefers to condone 'infringements' if they bring short-term economic gain. Consequently, although Andalucía can claim to have become a more environmentally-aware, greener society (bicycle schemes, numerous wind farms, recycling schemes, organic produce etc), this definition of a 'greener' society responds to a very shallow view of environmentalism. In fact, over the last 25 years, Andalucía's natural habitats have been aggressively encroached on, despite their allegedly protected status: for example, more ski resorts have been built on the Sierra Nevada mountains, the coastline has been covered in swathes of new housing developments (many of which are only occupied two months of the year) and housing developments and farms have been established, for example, within the Doñana national park. One specific example of the dominant 'developmentalism' is the region's 'Sustainable Transport Plan 2007-2013' (*Plan de Infraestructuras para la Sostenibilidad del Transporte en Andalucía*) which intends to build 1,614 kilometres of motorways (a further 70% than exist at present), and three new airports in the region (at present there are 6) (Clavero et al 2011). There are countless further problems which show no

signs of improvement: the risk of nuclear accidents because of the American military and naval bases as well as the British base in Gibraltar; water management, which – despite EU directives – has not implemented a rigorous tariff and continues to favour big business over the needs of the region's citizens.

In short, as Ortega (spokesperson for LVA since 2009) has stated, EM was part of the second phase of PE, when Green parties joined the system and collaborated with left-wing parties, rolling out programmes which included a focus on sustainability and EM. This phase, in which the Greens envisaged the EU as being the only body which could intervene to mitigate the effects of globalisation, proved to be ineffective because, by and large, patching up problems in a piecemeal way does not advance PE (Ortega 2010 a: 4-5).

According to Ortega, since 2008 the Greens and LVA are in a third phase that points to only one possible way forward: 'a programme focused on de-growth and a drastic reduction on social inequality and injustice (Ortega 2010 b: 3). In other words, the Greens' attempt to push for EM and sustainable development had a very limited success: it encouraged a cleaner technology but did not question the premise that economic growth was desirable and necessary. Inadvertently, ecologists helped to make green consumerism fashionable but without bringing about any radical transformation in society.

Ortega further states that LVA and Greens elsewhere in Spain will only be successful if they work together with all like-minded people, the PESM and left-wing ecologists, who share their objectives. He is clearly anticipating the setting up of Equo, which – at the time he was writing – was in discussion. It remains to be seen whether it is capable of overcoming age-old divisions and uniting ecologists at future elections.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Chapter 4 provided an overview of Spanish Green parties and the PESM and highlighted the fact that Spanish regions each have their own very specific

circumstances and differ so much from each other that one can only define 'Spain' by considering all the different Spanish regions in turn. This principle also applies to the different Green parties and movements in each region. As such a study was clearly impracticable, the study has instead examined two regions which are particularly important because of their demographic importance and size. They are also regions with a strong PE movement.

The analysis of the Andalusian and Catalan Greens has demonstrated the impact that nationalism, a different political culture and a distinct party system has had on the evolution of the Greens in those two regions. These insights allow one to appreciate that similar but region-specific influences apply in Spain's remaining regions.

The previous two chapters have shown that, in many ways, the Catalan and Andalusian PESM share a number of characteristics which Chapter 4 has also shown to be applicable across Spain. For example, although the large EMOs and NGOs have taken on the role of representing the PESM at statewide and European level, the core of the movement continues to be focused around numerous small, local groups. Furthermore, these local groups – when they seek collaboration with others – tend to belong to regional EMOs. In short, the regional dimension is very important within the PESM, although it has by and large managed to avoid the inter-regional tensions which prevail in the Green parties.

Chapters 5 and 6 also demonstrate that the perception that Spain is still a materialist country and therefore less concerned with the environment is clearly incorrect. Firstly, a distinction has to be made between the two regions: whereas Andalucía is economically backward and could therefore meet the conditions to be considered 'materialist', Catalonia certainly does not fall within the same category. Nevertheless, both regions have a determined minority who are committed to furthering PE – in this sense, they are not any different from PESM in other European countries, who are all fighting what appears to be a hopeless battle against the dominant capitalist ideology.

It is only when one turns to look at the Spanish Greens that regional differences become very marked. Chapters 5 and 6 have shown, in turn, how regional factors have set the Green parties on a path which has resulted in the establishment of two main parties, LVA and ICV, both of which began to collaborate with IU in the early 1990s: LVA's collaboration was short-lived but has resulted in a bitter feud between IULVCA and LVA which does not augur well for future reconciliation. ICV, on the other hand, has gradually become an ecosocialist party which is recognisably 'Green', particularly if compared with IULVCA, the putative ecosocialist party.

However, in the process of becoming Green, ICV dispensed with all the original Greens who now belong to a number of proto-parties whose very existence questions, perhaps, whether the ICV model is, in fact, as Green as it likes others to perceive it to be. Although this question could, at first sight, appear to only concern Catalonia, it is of course central to much that is happening in Spain within Green parties who have to choose whether to go forward as a Red-Green party or join the new party that is being mobilised by the Equo foundation.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The present thesis established two main aims: the first was to provide a detailed account of Spain's Green parties, including the broader PESM to which they are symbiotically linked, in order to correct or question scholars' interpretation of Green politics in Spain. The second aim was to demonstrate that Spanish Green politics merits inclusion in comparative studies on Green politics and movements because of its distinctive characteristics.

Sections 7.1 and 7.2 of this concluding chapter will, in turn, address the two research questions set out in Chapter 1 and will discuss how these have been answered in the course of the thesis. The third section will reflect on how this study on the Spanish PESM could fruitfully feed into the study of Green politics in general by confirming some findings, revisiting some issues and highlighting a few areas that have been under-researched to date. The final section will draw on the analysis provided in this thesis to examine the likelihood that the latest 'most serious attempt in decades to create a Green party' (*El País 15/08/2010) will lead to a metamorphosis of the Spanish Greens.

7.1 WHICH KEY FACTORS HAVE HINDERED THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE SPANISH GREENS?

There is no doubt that the Spanish Greens must work to consolidate their fragmented position if they are to strengthen their legitimacy, visibility and hence increase their chances of capturing votes. Chapters 4-6 detailed a number of factors that have hindered the consolidation of the Spanish Greens, firstly by providing an overview of the Spanish Greens throughout the Spanish state (Chapter 4), and subsequently (Chapters 5 and 6) by examining Green parties in Catalonia and Andalucía, two regions that have both played a key role in the evolution of PE in Spain. I will briefly review these key factors, beginning with exogenous factors that have hindered the Greens from consolidating or building up a stronger, more unified position.

The first key factor that has constrained the Greens is the Spanish electoral system. Although it is supposedly proportional, it is in fact strongly weighted in favour of the main parties in each district (Keating & Wilson 2009). Over the years, this has encouraged an increasingly polarised system. In the general elections, votes are predominantly cast for the two dominant parties, PSOE and PP, with most of the remaining votes going to nationalist parties in the various regions. The same pattern applies in the regional elections, although the nationalist parties tend to fare much better in these elections. There are therefore very few opportunities for a small party such as the Greens to win a seat. As previously indicated, however, this factor offers an imperfect explanation for the Greens' failure to make greater electoral inroads in circumstances where the electoral system is favourable, such as the EP elections. It also overlooks the fact that, if the party could capture the voters' interest, they would win a few seats, despite the unfavourable electoral system. For example, a new statewide party called *Unión, Progreso y Democracia* (UpyD, Union, Progress and Democracy) was founded in 2007¹⁵⁵. The next year, it won a seat in Madrid in the general election. In the 2011 municipal elections UpyD won 152 councillors throughout Spain and obtained 8 seats on the Madrid regional government.

A second exogenous factor that has been a barrier to the Greens' success is party competition. The Greens are competing in a crowded political arena (98 parties stood in the 2008 general election) in which there are many other small parties hoping to attract voters who are disaffected with the main political parties. More importantly, the Greens have to compete with other new left parties, namely IU and the left-wing nationalist parties. As Karamichas demonstrates (2004) it is very rare for a country to accommodate two successful 'alternative left' parties. Certainly, Spain has proved to be no exception in this respect. But if we turn to sub-state politics, for example to Catalonia, there is evidence that the same rules do not always apply: ERC and ICV have both achieved electoral success in spite of occupying a similar (if differentiated) party platform.

¹⁵⁵ The party, most of whose founders are Basques, rejects the two main parties and defines itself as a progressive party which rejects the traditional cleavages (left-right; nationalist-centralist). One of its strengths is that it has attracted the support of a number of influential people such as a well-known Spanish (Basque) philosopher, Fernando Savater.

The final external factor preventing the consolidation of the Greens has been the fact that most ecologists have preferred to live their ecologism by ignoring Green party politics and being active within the PESM. According to da Cruz (1995), 50% of PESM activists questioned said they did not vote at all whilst nearly all of those who voted routinely voted for a left-wing party.

In addition to these exogenous factors, the Spanish Greens have also been beset by numerous endogenous problems which have prevented their 'consolidation', or coming together as one, single party. Undoubtedly, territorial loyalties have played an important part in this fragmentation. LV was set up by a handful of people (with little or no grassroots support) who then went back to their disparate regions and tried to canvas support for LV. Party activists and members worked and identified primarily with their own region which meant interregional encounters were fraught with disagreement (Campomanes 1994). The party leaders in each region or province were more responsible to their supporters than to the central executive, which was seen to be dominated by a few self-seeking and ambitious would-be politicians. This pattern has persisted and the accumulated slights and antagonism have aggravated interparty tensions.

In addition to the personalism and fragmentation caused by regional loyalties, a further very important factor has exacerbated the Greens' failure to form a single, united party, namely the relationship between Greens and other left libertarian parties. The regional Green parties have historically had a complex and close relationship with other left wing parties at regional level. This arose because left libertarians of all persuasions move in the same circles, are involved in the same campaigns and, depending on local circumstances, may have good relationships. Consequently, in some regions or provinces the Greens have been able to cooperate or even form electoral alliances with IU or a nationalist party whereas such alliances would be impossible in other regions. Regional variation on alliance-building has divided the Greens and has led to the existence of more than one Green party in a number of regions or provinces, generally because one party's decision to ally with

IU may lead to defections on ideological grounds and to the setting up of a rival Green party.

The outcome of all this fragmentation is that, as Frankland et al. state, the Spanish Greens ‘do not really exist as an autonomous party at the national level’ (2008: 259). Over the years, there have been repeated attempts to unify the party at statewide level, but these have all come to nothing. Observers such as the EGP emphasise the need for a single, statewide Green party but ignore the regional tensions that have existed since the party was created. Their ‘solution’ overlooks an organisational model which might have more chances of succeeding, given the regional dimension of Spanish Green politics. I am, of course, referring to the confederal model, such as that successfully adopted by *Ecologistas en Acción*. The different autonomous regional parties would share a common but differentiated name and identity and would pursue their own strategies whilst abiding by a common set of principles.

Section 7.4 will return to this question in the light of recent developments which may, or may not, transform Green party politics in Spain.

7.2 DOES THE SPANISH GREENS’ WEAK ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE INDICATE A LACK OF INTEREST IN POLITICAL ECOLOGY IN SPAIN?

Scholars (for example Mair 2001; Carter 2007; Frankland et al. 2008) have assessed the Spanish Greens’ electoral performance by looking at general election results in which the Green-Greens have, on average, obtained about 0.5% of the vote over the last ten years. Based on these results, it is assumed that the Spanish Greens are an extremely weak political force and that there is little interest in PE in Spain. Both of these assumptions are understandable but flawed as this thesis has shown.

In the first place, whilst it is undeniably true that the Greens’ general election results demonstrate a very low level of voter support, these results are misleading: they do not include ICV, one of the Spanish Green parties, which regularly wins one or two seats in the *Congreso* as well as a seat in the EP. Secondly, the general election

results also misconstrue the Greens' real status because they focus on the government tier which is most problematic for the Greens. At regional level, however, the Greens have made their mark in a number of regions, either through pre-electoral alliances with IU which have allowed them to obtain a seat, or through alliances with PSOE (in the case of Andalucía) which has not only given them a regional MP but also a number of government posts. At regional level, ICV usually wins 9-12 seats in the Catalan parliament and, as was demonstrated, was part of a ruling coalition, the *Tripartit*, from 2003-2010.

Chapters 4-6 provided ample evidence that the Spanish Greens are more significant than is generally assumed. These chapters demonstrated, for example, that the PSOE-Green alliance resulted in two Green-Green MPs and one MEP. The Greens have continued to make slow but steady progress over the years and there are now more Green-Green councillors than ever before. Moreover, the Greens' status as an established party ensures that the ideas of PE reach a wider audience through the media. Surveys significantly overestimate the number of Green voters which presumably indicates that there are more potential Green voters who switch allegiance and opt for a tactical vote on the day. Finally, the fact that other parties (PSOE, IU, ERC for example) are interested in forming pre-electoral alliances with the Greens is a clear indication that, whilst the latter may be electorally weak, their message (i.e. PE) is seen as a way to attract voters.

In short, this thesis has established that the Greens' electoral presence is more complex and less negligible than commonly portrayed. However, it has also demonstrated that the real protagonists of PE in Spain are the PESM, in other words all ecologists who belong to EMOs, numerous other associations (trade unions, IU to name a few) or, indeed, don't 'belong' to anything but actively support the activities of particular groups or in other ways belong to the movement. The ongoing activities of this collective demonstrate that there is no lack of interest in PE in Spain.

The broader notion that Spain is particularly resistant to the ideas advanced by political ecology has also been shown to be incorrect in the course of this thesis on a number of fronts. The postmaterialist thesis does not hold, and the presumption that

the Spanish PESM is weak because Spaniards have a weak civil society has also been shown to be based on a method of measuring civil society which overlooks some of the strengths of the Spanish movements (for example their ability to mobilise large numbers on behalf of a cause, thus sending out a very clear message to the authorities and to the rest of society).

Spaniards' interest in PE is also demonstrated in the surveys which repeatedly show similar, if not more, citizen concern for environmental matters than citizens of other countries. Critics are quick to point out, with some reason, that Spaniards are rhetorically committed to PE but fail to act on their beliefs:

This is the difference ... between expressing a *moral* concern and a *political* preference. In this respect the environment is still far from being a real social priority (*Valencia Sáiz 2010: 71).

Although Valencia Sáiz's point is borne out by the minority position of PE in Spain, he is perhaps being excessively negative: his study never fails to indicate that this situation pertains in other European countries as well; he also fails to accord the PESM the attention it deserves. He underplays the role of the broader movement and, makes no mention of Jiménez's seminal study on the PESM (2004).

This thesis has suggested that the efforts of Spain's ecologists have contributed significantly to the piecemeal greening of Spain. They have raised environmental awareness, contributed to policy change and have gradually brought about a lasting change in the values of Spanish society which has impacted on government bodies. A further example of this impact is the attitudinal change in the Spanish judiciary. Whereas, in the past, judges were dismissive about cases brought before them by ecologists, the situation has changed markedly, thanks to the number of well prepared cases brought before the courts by the larger EMOs. In the last few years, ecologists have managed to halt work on a major new port in the Canary islands, have prevented the building of a new ski resort, and halted a number of important further projects (El País 06/03/2009).

Another form of piecemeal progress is the extent to which ideas usually associated with PE have been adopted by the remaining parties. For example, after the 2008 general election, when Garrido (who introduced a bill calling for the recognition of the rights of the great apes in 2006) was no longer in power, ERC, IU and ICV reintroduced the abandoned bill which was passed with the support of all the parties apart from PP (El País 25/06/2008). More surprisingly, in an environmental about-turn, the PP has seized on the environmental potential of the bicycle and, for example, has promised to create 575 kilometres of cycle paths in Madrid by 2016 (MCC 2011)¹⁵⁶. This is an electoral promise which may fail to materialise¹⁵⁷ but shows that even the PP has absorbed some of the messages of the ecologists' arguments.

Some would argue that these changes are primarily the result of EU influence. But PE actors in Spain have been instrumental in taking that influence forward. Jiménez (2005) makes a convincing case that the PESM has driven this change in attitudes; without the help of informed experts and the pressure from civil society, the environmental directives and policies originating from the EU would have been enacted but not implemented.

Establishing a country's commitment to political ecology is an invidious undertaking because it relies on comparing discrete indicators which do not present a holistic representation of PE in that country. However, the information presented in the course of this thesis presents sufficient proof that, although Spains' Greens are 'electorally weak' they should not be viewed in isolation: they are regularly accompanied by a very active – and at times influential – PESM.

¹⁵⁶ Since the first 'naked bike ride' in Madrid in 2004, a large and spontaneous group of cyclists - on average, about 2,000 - has met in the centre of Madrid once a month to ride round the city for a couple of hours. The number of people riding bicycles around Madrid has risen substantially in the last few years, possibly encouraged by pro-cycling events. The causality is difficult to ascertain).

¹⁵⁷ Before the previous regional elections the PP leader, Esperanza Aguirre, promised to build 1,400 kilometres of cycle tracks. The one that is now ready is a long track going round Madrid which is intended for leisure purposes rather than to introduce a more ecological method of transport.

7.3 A USEFUL CASE FOR COMPARISON

Spanish politics has received less attention from scholars than other European countries of comparable size and importance for reasons that were outlined in Chapter 1. This neglect is particularly the case in an area such as environmental politics. However, this study has shown that the Spanish case could be used to inform debate on a wide number of issues. Firstly, the study asks which aspects of the Spanish case might be expected to conform to characteristics and tendencies common to ecologism elsewhere. Secondly, this study re-examines and re-evaluates some issues that continue to be crucial to Green parties and movements but have ceased to be of much interest to scholars. Finally, the Spanish case will be shown to have wider applicability in that it raises some general issues which have been insufficiently studied by scholars.

7.3.1 The Spanish Case: one amongst many

This sub-section will use the Spanish case to examine –but also offer an alternative perspective on – three issues affecting all Green parties.

Government coalitions

In the last 20 years, a number of European Green parties have been part of a coalition government. The best known case is *die Grünen*, who were in power from 1998-2005, though there have been other instances of Green parties in government, amongst them the French (1997-2002), the Belgians (1999-2003), the Irish (2007-2011) and the Finnish Greens (1995-2002; 2077-). However, as Müller-Rommel and Poguntke (2002) observed in their analysis of Green parties in national governments, the parties all had to face the powerlessness of being a minority partner in a coalition government, confronting the reality that there was a ‘big difference between being in government and being in power’ (2002: 134). As Rüdiger has observed (2006), this position has usually led to loss of electoral support. Blühdorn concurs that the *die Grünen* became ‘paralyzed in government’ (2009:46), an argument that is fleshed out by Mittler (1999).

The case of ICV is interesting in this respect. Although operating at subnational level, this party is another instance of a Green party which was a minority partner in a governing coalition. It is perhaps too early to gauge whether the party will lose support because of its years in government, but early indications show that it has not suffered any such reverse. In the 2010 regional elections in Catalonia, when the *Tripartit* coalition lost resoundingly to the centre right nationalist CiU, the *Tripartit* party which was least punished by its terms in government was ICV (see Table 7.1). In the circumstances, ICV perceived this small downturn in their support as validation of the party's standing.

Table 7.1 Tripartite Results in 2006 and 2010 Catalan Regional Elections

| | 2006 | | 2010 | |
|------------|------------|-------|------------|-------|
| | % of votes | Seats | % of votes | Seats |
| PSC (PSOE) | 27.90 | 25 | 18.38 | 18 |
| ERC | 14.03 | 21 | 7 | 10 |
| ICV | 9.52 | 12 | 7.37 | 10 |

Source: Gencat 2011

In the subsequent municipal elections of May 2011, ICV won more seats than in the 2007 municipal elections and, for example, won another seat on Barcelona City Council – however, as ERC and PSC both lost a number of seats on the council, the latter is now controlled by a CiU and PP coalition. ICV has embarked on a new stage as, in the words of Ricard Gomà (number one on ICV list for Barcelona council), ‘the only left-wing party with increased support’ (*La Vanguardia 23.05.2011).

At first sight it appears surprising that, unlike other Green parties in coalition governments, ICV has not been punished by its voters for having reneged on their commitment to green issues (as outlined in Chapter 5). However, if their failure to meet ecological imperatives has not led to a sharp downturn in their fortunes, this suggests that most ICV voters are less worried about the party's commitment to green issues and continue to see them as an embodiment of the left in Catalonia rather than as Greens.

Piecemeal conundrum

The second question addresses the 'piecemeal conundrum' which is frequently alluded to in this thesis: Carter, for example, states that many Greens have begun to accept the fact that liberal democracy is here to stay and therefore see ecologism as a potential force for reform, as long as it can get its strategies right (2001: 76). Carter further argues that this piecemeal strategy is perhaps better than none, a view which is reluctantly shared by Dobson (2000). Bookchin, on the other hand, disagrees:

Nor do piecemeal steps however well intended, even partially resolve problems that have reached a universal, global and catastrophic character. If anything, partial 'solutions' serve merely as cosmetics to conceal the deep seated nature of the ecological crisis. They thereby deflect public attention and theoretical insight from an adequate understanding of the depth and scope of the necessary changes. (Bookchin 1982: 3)

Spanish parties and movements embraced the piecemeal approach by advocating the virtues, and the economic benefits, of ecological modernisation. Rather than presenting themselves as 'the prophets of doom' they wanted to demonstrate that there were win-win ecological solutions to many problems. As we have seen, their advocacy was successful and Spain now has one of the most advanced renewables sectors in Europe (second only to Germany) as well as a flourishing trade in organic agriculture.

However, Bookchin's point is a valid one: did their efforts advance the cause of PE or simply distract from the ecological crisis? This dissertation has wrestled with this question which it revisits below. Bookchin's position may be an extreme one but is worth reflecting on when analysing Green parties and movements. Earlier chapters noted that the piecemeal conundrum is closely linked to the reformist-radical (or ecologist-environmental) dichotomy. The tension is illustrated by the case of the Spanish PESM but has wider applicability.

The tenets of radical political ecology remain a utopia and the environmental reforms introduced in recent years amount to little more than the efforts of the comfortably-off to live in cleaner, healthier surroundings. For example, there is evidence that Spanish society is increasingly rejecting unsustainable practices (as the significant

increase in the number of environmental cases brought before the courts testify) whilst, at the same time, embracing green consumerism. However, Spanish PE provides a good opportunity to question the connection between the reformist approach (sustainable development, ecological modernisation and green consumerism) and radical ecologism. Although the first is considered the reformist version of the second, it may well be that the two have little in common. Interestingly, for example, fair trade products are predominantly sold in Catalonia (along with five other economically prosperous Spanish regions) whereas the fair trade market in Andalucía is poor (Jiménez Herrero et al 2010: 208). This finding contradicts other data that suggest that Andalucía is as ‘ecologist’ as Catalonia (see Chapter 6). The reason for the high sale of fair trade products must therefore be attributed to Catalonia’s greater prosperity and confirms Alier’s contention that much western ecologism is in fact linked to a very ‘materialist’ (rather than postmaterialist) desire for the ‘good life’ (2004: 318). These ideas are further elaborated by Blühdorn who talks about the new rivals of the German Greens, LOHAS (Life of Health and Sustainability), an extremely influential consumer movement whose ‘supporters are contented if through their consumer behaviour at least “their personal life becomes better” (Blühdorn 2009: 54).’

One way of resolving the ‘piecemeal conundrum’, or the tension between radical and reformist ecologism, is to welcome the diversity offered by the various groups that make up the PESM. To this extent, Bookchin’s objection could be regarded as misguided. One of the strengths of the PESM, from a (dis)organisational point of view, is that it is made up of so many different strands: whilst those who collaborate with government bodies necessarily become the movement’s ‘compromisers’, the movement also includes radical thinkers and activists who ensure that the movement’s radical message continues to be disseminated – a good example of this is LVA’s 2011 local election manifesto which called for de-growth (Ortega 2010: 3).

It is frequently said, with some truth, that Spain prioritizes economic growth so that ‘movements advocating post-industrial demands are not very likely to appeal to broad sections of the populace’ (Karamichas 2004: 6). This dissertation has not challenged

this assessment of Spain: Spanish PE has always been a countercultural, radical movement which only appeals to a minority of the population. In spite of its radicalism it has, however, acquired some legitimacy by proving that some of its proposals represent the right way forward.

7.3.2 *Re-visiting old debates*

This section looks at three themes which have been discussed for as long as Green parties have existed and have ceased to be of interest. However, the Spanish case demonstrates that these themes are still core Green themes and merit being revisited in a new guise.

The first theme is the old question as to whether Green parties are needed to promote PE. Given that ecology parties or movements are at best effective as pressure groups that can gradually bring about a shift in values and policies, does it really matter whether that work is done by a party or a movement? The Spanish case can shed an interesting light on this question precisely because the Spanish Greens are less important environmental actors than the PESM. And yet, even in these difficult circumstances, it is evident that – despite their controversial and contested position □ PE needs a party political presence in order to legitimise its message. As Jiménez states, ‘The political action of social movements should not be viewed as an alternative (for example, to political parties) but rather as complementary to institutional political action’ (2005: 150).

Even though the Spanish Greens are disadvantaged by the Spanish party and electoral system, their continuing efforts to consolidate their presence demonstrate their conviction that there is a need for a political force that represents the positions and proposals of PE within the party system. In particular, if PE is to assert its legitimacy as a political option, there is a perceived need for this option to be expressed through the ballot box.

The second theme relates to Green parties and movements. This thesis has demonstrated that Green politics, or ecologism, is not the preserve of either the parties or the movements. Through their actions and words the parties, the EMOs and

the broader PESM are working to bring about a political change in Spanish society. This is a truism but nevertheless one that bears repeating because most studies focus on either parties or movements thus creating a division which perhaps distorts the reality of the situation. This dissertation has revisited the issue by examining to what extent the traditional division of both groups has been overcome or rendered irrelevant.

Another theme which was endlessly debated in the late 1980s and 1990s was whether the Greens should declare themselves to be 'of the left' or 'neither right nor left'. This particular debate divided the French Greens for a number of years (in the early 1990s) until the party decided unambiguously to declare itself left-wing. In Spain, elements of this debate have existed since the early 1990s but have still not been resolved. I would argue that there are two main reasons for the lack of resolution to the problem. Firstly, IU – despite tendencies for some of its federations to operate like a closed, communist party – is an immeasurably more open party than the French communist party, and contains an influential if minority ecosocialist tendency within its ranks. This tendency within IU, known as *IU Abierta* (Open IU), means that the party could be described as a left-libertarian party and, as such, has always shared the same constituency of voters as the Greens. Consequently, the dividing line between the two parties is very unclear, as is the difference between the Red-Green and the Green option. Secondly, the autonomy of the different regional (and provincial) federations (both in the case of IU and the Spanish Greens) has meant that there are about 50 different nuanced ideological positions to choose from, so that deciding whether to opt for a Green or a Red-Green solution becomes logistically impossible.

The Spanish case provides insights into this debate, questioning the assumption that choice between one of the two options is based primarily on ideology. The Spanish situation demonstrates that choices are only tangentially related to ideology. In fact, nearly all Spanish Greens are of the left and broadly agree with most of IU's policies. The failure to find common ground is more likely due to strained interpersonal relationships and to the Greens' rejection of IU's hierarchical and closed

organisation. Ultimately, Spanish Greens opt for the Red-Green or Green-Green option for political or strategic – not ideological – reasons. ICV's journey from communist party to ecosocialist party is an interesting one that, again, deserves more attention. Its position as a Green party is uncontested by the EGP or by commentators and there is incontrovertible evidence pointing to an ideological shift within the party. However, within Catalonia, the party is not seen as a Green option. Most ecologists do not vote for ICV, as we have seen, and its support comes from progressive, Catalanist left-wing voters.

Despite this anomalous situation, individual elected ICV representatives work actively from within the institutions to promote PE. In short, in spite of Catalonia having a 'Green' party that is arguably not green at all, individual members within that party are using the party's access to the institutions to make a difference. This is just another instance of the pragmatic piecemeal approach.

7.3.3 Spanish ecologism: new themes uncovered

ICV's transformation from a communist to an ecosocialist party presents an interesting model of a Green party and yet has been given little attention by environmental politics scholars because it is a sub-state Green party. An exception to this is an article in the journal *Environmental Politics* by Riera and Rius (2009), which examines the 2006 Catalan regional elections and ICV's performance in these elections. However, the article is written by party activists and simply describes, with no critical objectivity, the election campaign and results. Apart from this one article, there is little mention in the scholarly literature of ICV as a Green party, though a number of articles have dealt with it as a coalition partner or a left-wing partner. By examining ICV's role as a Green party, and as one that has made the journey from socialism to ecosocialism, this thesis has made an attempt to initiate study on the question.

At the same time, of course, this thesis has emphasised the importance of sub-state politics, particularly in the regional elections. Although this is an area which has become the subject of much research in recent years (Wilson 2009; Hough & Verge 2009, Keating & Wilson 2009), that interest has only extended to environmental

politics in a few key countries such as Germany or Belgium. Elsewhere, the Greens as regional parties in decentralised countries remains under researched. This thesis has argued that the regional dimension of Green parties in Spain is crucial; highlighting its role has helped build a more holistic and accurate explanation for Green parties' specific fortunes. At the same time, as Frankland et al. note (2008), situating the study of a party firmly in a specific context makes it far harder to answer questions about causality.

The final subject area potentially of interest to all those interested in Green politics, is the role of the EGP. This study has illustrated how, for many years, leaders of the EGP (or its earlier manifestations) appear to have behaved in a rather high-handed way with the Spanish Greens. They have prevented some parties from joining the EGP and welcomed others (e.g. ICV) who ostensibly weren't Green at all. Since the 2009 EP elections, the EGP has been closely involved in a process which started with seminars, summer schools, the coming together of many Green parties and groups (the *Hondarribia* initiative), progressed to the setting up of Equo and will culminate in the founding of a new statewide Green party. EGP spokespersons – including Daniel Cohn-Bendit – have been at the 'launches' for Equo (in Madrid and also in a number of other regions), and have appeared on radio and television a number of times. Their function as a legitimising *deus ex machina* is, however, questionable. Instead of leaving the Spanish Greens to try to work through their own problems, the EGP is pushing for the solution which it considers most appropriate and has therefore alienated the Greens excluded from this process. The EGP thinks it is 'helping' the Spanish Greens, but this thesis has questioned whether it is appropriate for this group to be playing such an active part in the foundation of a new Spanish Green party.

The concluding section of this thesis examines the unfolding changes in the Spanish Greens and, in the light of the parties' past history, assesses the likelihood that the Spanish Greens will finally create a coherent, statewide Green party.

7.4 THE SPANISH GREENS: AT A CROSSROADS

In Madrid, on September 24th, 2010, a number of¹⁵⁸ Green parties signed an agreement giving their support to the Equo¹⁵⁹ project (LVA 2010). Since then, four further regional parties, as well as a few more local Green parties¹⁶⁰ (Coordinadora Verde 2011b), have committed themselves to the project. On June 4th, 2011, they signed a manifesto to found a party that aims to work towards a society ‘based on environmental sustainability, social equity and participatory politics’ (*Equo 2011).

7.4.1 *Equo’s strengths*

Although the Greens have reinvented themselves on a number of occasions, this new project has more potential to succeed because it has several factors weighing in its favour. Firstly, López de Uralde – who will probably head the list for Madrid in the 2012 general election (although this must be decided by the party, when it is founded) □ is a very well known and respected figure. He was president of Greenpeace Spain (2001-2010) and has commanded much media attention since his arrest in Copenhagen at the Climate Change Summit¹⁶¹. Although renowned for his activism, he is measured and thoughtful when interviewed and has, to date, avoided alienating the right-wing media. In addition to López de Uralde, a number of well-regarded people have also joined Equo. These include the former president of SEO (the Spanish Ornithological Society), three regional IU deputies and the head of environment of the communist trade union, CC OO. There are rumours that Baltazar Garzón, Spain’s most internationally renowned judge, may join the new party.

¹⁵⁸ Seven regional Green parties signed the agreement: LVA, and the Green parties of Asturias, Aragón, the Basque Country, the Canary Islands, Extremadura and Madrid. A further three sub-regional or provincial parties also signed the agreement, namely the Majorcan, Minorcan and Segovian Greens.

¹⁵⁹ Equo is a foundation or think tank whose aim is to set up a new Spanish Green party in September or October, 2011

¹⁶⁰ These additional Green parties represent the following regions: Valencia, Navarre, La Rioja and Murcia.

¹⁶¹ On December 18th, 2009, López de Uralde and another Greenpeace activist infiltrated the Copenhagen Summit royal gala dinner, attended by the Queen of Denmark, and unfurled two banners which said ‘Politicians Talk. Leaders Act’. They were imprisoned for 20 days, leading to numerous protest for their release. The final day of the trial will be August 13th, 2011.

Additionally, the party is receiving considerable moral support from the EGP and ICV as well as some financial support from both (Público 07/01/2011). As a result of López de Uralde's past record and Equo's connections with the EGP the party has received considerable attention, with regular appearances in the media. For example, Uralde appeared twice in one day on national television in two discussion programmes, one of which interviewed him about Equo for 30 minutes (Al Rojo Vivo 24/06/2011)¹⁶².

Equo's programme is similar in its objectives to other Spanish Green-Green party programmes, though the party's catch phrase – Ecology and Equity – foregrounds social issues more explicitly than the Greens. Their goals are no different from those set out by previous Spanish Green parties. They want to attract a wider constituency of voters: the social movements, ecologists, those who have become disenchanted with other parties and those who have been previously uninterested in voting. The party wants to position itself between PSOE and IU, is left-leaning but wants to 'transform the left' (Al Rojo Vivo 24/06/2011) but create a strong, independent Green party, rather than relying on coalitions with IU or PSOE.

Equo has seized the opportunity offered to them by the EGP, and further opened up by a number of favourable conjunctural factors: PSOE, for example, has seen its support drain away because of the way it has tackled the economic crisis, whilst a weakened IU has been sharply divided into two camps for the last three years (a progressive camp and the PCE). Equo is hoping to found a party modelled on the successful French coalition, *Europe Ecologie*, which includes the left, ecologists and left-wing nationalists.

The final factor in their favour is that, as a new party, they can already count on numerous longstanding networks of ecologists. They have also benefited from social network sites which have been effective in promoting Equo. For example, on October 31st, 2010, ICV had 1,000 followers on Twitter whilst Equo had 354. By

¹⁶² The interview took place shortly after his first appearance in court in Copenhagen, which partly explains such a degree of media exposure. Nonetheless, he is a frequent guest on similar programmes.

May 28th, 2011, ICV's followers had dropped to 567 whereas Equo had 4468. this is a small indication of the foundation's ability to generate interest.

7.4.2 Equo's challenges

Although Equo is confidently predicting that it will tap into the nationwide support there is for their proposals, and is hoping to win at least five seats in the 2012 general election (epsocial 21/01/2011), the new party is likely to inherit many of the constraints that have held back the Greens, as outlined in this thesis. The first one is fragmentation and a perpetuation of intraparty conflict given that Equo's arrival on the scene has not led to the demise of all other Green parties.

Nevertheless, CLV's position as Spain's official Green confederation has been undermined by the withdrawal of all but three parties in the confederation¹⁶³. Over the last three years, a preservation instinct has therefore led CLV to see the advisability of forming regional or local alliances with other Green-Green parties that would otherwise compete directly with them. These alliances have worked well in a number of regions which have seen joint lists combining all or two of CLV, LVGV and *Los Verdes Europeos*.

When the *Hondarribia* initiative started in 2008, some of the parties close to CLV took part in a number of seminars and negotiations but gradually withdrew for a number of reasons. Above all, there was considerable resentment at the fact that the *Hondarribia* 're-founders' of the Greens presented themselves as the first serious attempt to establish a Green party, implicitly dismissing the previous 25 year struggle to consolidate the Spanish Greens. They also alleged incompatibility, but most of all felt that they were being sidelined by an operation that had been mounted by the EGP and was being masterminded within Spain by ICV (Interview with Catalan Green October 2010).

ICV's influence on Equo is evident. In the regional elections held in May 2011, the Greens presented two lists in Valencia. The first was a Green-Green coalition of

¹⁶³ The parties that remain are three Green parties from Catalonia, Valencia and Madrid.

three Green parties called *Verds i Ecopacifistes* (ViE, Greens and Ecopacifists). The other Red-Green party, *Iniciativa del Poble Valencià* (IdPV, Initiative for Valencia, modelled on ICV) stood in a left-wing coalition, *Compromís* (Commitment). The first obtained 1.28% of the vote and no representation whereas *Compromís* won six seats, one of which went to a Green candidate.

The head of the ViE list, Kerstin Lesage (previously a conciliatory Green who took part in the *Hondarribia* initiative) is now vehemently opposed to Equo because – contrary to an undertaking previously given by Equo – López de Uralde and his team campaigned in Valencia for IdPV and urged ecologists to vote tactically for the *Compromís* coalition. In sum: despite Equo's declared objective to found an independent Green party, in the short term it has chosen to support a party that is predominantly not 'Green'.

From a different perspective, Equo has also alienated some ecologists because of a perceived reluctance to proclaim itself firmly of the left. Riechmann – an eminent Spanish ecologist who usually votes for IU but is an active member of *Ecologistas en Acción* (EA) – remains 'unconvinced by Equo', because he doesn't 'believe in an ecologism that transcends the right and the left' (*Correspondence 2011). His reservations will most probably be shared by many EMO activists who consider themselves to be unambiguously 'of the left'. The commitment of many PESM activists to the left was evident in the two day *Encuentro de Ecología* (The Ecology Assembly), organised by IU and which took place in Madrid (16-17/10/2011). The event was attended by over 150 ecologists, many of them representing EMOs but also a number of IU activists who are ecologists. There were no Equo representatives.

There are further problems which may undermine Equo's credibility. For example, the foundation has not specified how the new statewide party will be structured and yet the Greens' previous history shows that this is a key question. Some of the parties that have joined up to the Equo project – for example IdPV and the Basque Greens □ are markedly nationalist and it is unlikely that they will agree to a statewide party.

The obvious solution would be a confederation. However, López de Uralde has made it very clear on numerous occasions that he is opposed to ‘nationalism’ (El País 09/09/2010) and the EGP has also criticised – for example – ICV’s excessive nationalism. The negotiations to reach a settlement on this issue will be extremely delicate given sensitivity on this subject. Past history, and the personalities of a number of Equo activists, suggest that sensitivity and tact will not be to the fore and that a unanimous agreement on party structure and organisation is highly unlikely.

The new project has further obstacles to face in its quest to create a single party. The anti-Equo Greens are determined to continue to present separate lists and, in the latest bid to increase their chances of winning a seat, in the 2011 regional and municipal elections a few LVGV (and one CLV) parties presented joint lists with IU. This was the case in Madrid where there were two competing Green lists to choose from in the municipal and regional 2011 elections, *Ecolo*¹⁶⁴ *Verdes de Madrid* and *IU – Los Verdes*. The new party has immediately succumbed to the same pattern as previous Green parties (unsurprisingly, given that the same leaders are in place).

The existence of two competing Green lists led to both groups launching accusations against each other. *Ecolo Verdes de Madrid* protested that, once again, IU had ‘stolen’ the Green logo in order to provide a cosmetic greenwash to their left-wing agenda. They registered a formal complaint with the Madrid electoral commission in an attempt to prevent IU-Los Verdes from presenting a list, but their complaint was not upheld (Insurgente 2011).

Ecolo Madrid’s personalist attack was disingenuous, underhanded electoral campaigning because Ecolo was well aware of the fact that IU had, indeed, signed an agreement with LVGV and Gira Madrid (the CLV party) to present a joint list. This particular style of attack was launched in all the areas where Ecolo stood against a IU-Green list. It illustrates that the ‘new’ Green party is continuing to use the same

¹⁶⁴ A number of Green parties who had signed up to the Equo project registered their support for this new foundation by renaming their party or electoral alliance. In most cases, the name chosen was Ecolo (followed, perhaps, by a regional variant). It seems probable, therefore, that this will be the new name adopted by the party although this is yet to be established.

strategies as the ‘old’ Greens, whose proclivity for intraparty conflict has been one of the Spanish Greens’ barriers to establishing a credible party.

7.4.3 ICV: an unknown factor?

ICV has been involved in the initiative to found Equo from the outset and a number of its high-ranking officials are part of Equo’s executive. However, the party has made it very clear that it cannot make any decisions about joining Equo until ‘later on’, once the party has been launched.. There are two reasons for ICV’s hesitation: the party has always made it clear that it is only interested in joining a political group that includes all the Greens¹⁶⁵ so it is prudently keeping its options open. More importantly, if it were to join Equo, ICV would have to sever its links with IU and would therefore be unable to maintain its electoral alliance with EUiA, which has helped to boost support for ICV. Until now, the party’s strongest support for Equo has come from its vice president, Jordi Guíllot, who declared that ICV ‘has similarities, sympathy and is in negotiation’ with Equo (Público 21/02/2011).

Meanwhile, ICV has been pursuing a parallel course which makes it clear that any move to join Equo will not take place in the short term. In June 2010, ICV was instrumental in setting up another umbrella group of alternative left/nationalist/ecosocialist parties called *Espacio Plural* (Plural Space). Although this group includes an Andalusian and a Canary Islands contingent, it is dominated by parties from the Catalan speaking regions (Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Catalonia). *Espacio Plural* has agreed on a strategy of ‘mutual support’ and ‘putting together a common programme’ whilst retaining their regional, differentiated identities and coalition strategies. ICV has stated that it will remain in coalition with EUiA (Público 26/05/2011).

ICV’s decision to retain its alliance with IU means that, despite amicable relations between Equo and ICV, the *status quo* of the Spanish Greens remains the same, but with a few name changes. Many regions will continue to present two Green lists, and many Green parties will continue to form alliances with IU. ICV’s apparent decision

¹⁶⁵ This position acknowledges that there will be a few groupuscules that will remain outside the project.

to stand with EUiA probably precludes the party signing up to Equo (although, given IU's internal division, nothing is certain). Without ICV it is unlikely that Equo will be able to capitalise on the window of opportunity to create a new, statewide party.

7.4.4 Much ado about nothing?

The analysis of the previous sections raises doubts about Equo's chances of achieving its objective of becoming a new, statewide Green party able to win five or six seats in the 2012 general election. Similar statements have been made before by previous Green parties, all of whom were, in their time, equally enthusiastic and optimistic the right moment had come. In spite of the EGP's support, the media attention, the change in the party names and the change of personnel in these parties, the situation looks set to continue as before, with the same barriers constraining the consolidation of the Greens.

On a more positive note, the changes have renewed debate about the desirability or not of a Green party, and have led a number of regional parties to redefine their positions. The coalition process continues to gather pace in some regions where a number of ecosocialist coalitions are growing in strength. Given that the real protagonist of Spanish ecologism is the PESM, Spain's problematic status in the eyes of the EGP is less of a concern than it might at first appear to be.

The dissertation concludes by reiterating that the relative weakness of the Spanish Greens is not an indication of a lack of interest in PE but is due to the troubled and complex history of the Spanish Greens. Furthermore, given that Green parties who achieve a modicum of power fail to deliver the transformation of society, the argument for a strong PESM and a necessarily reformist Green party is a plausible one.

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INTERVIEWS

- Josep Puig, then Barcelona City Sustainability Councillor and in IC-EV coalition. Barcelona, July 1996
- Santiago Vilanova, a founding member of AV who had at this point withdrawn from politics. Barcelona, July 1996
- Gustau Barbat, a founding member of AV who had at this point left the Catalan Greens and had joined ERC. Barcelona, July 1996
- Francisco Garrido, a founding member of LVA and later Green MP. Granada, April 1997
- Francisco Garrido, then Green MP as part of a PSOE-CLV alliance. Cádiz, 20/08/2005
- Theo Oberhuber, the Coordinator of *Ecologistas en Acción*. Madrid, 11/11/ 2005
- Samuel Martín Sosa, then an activist employed by *Ecologistas en Acción*. Madrid, 11/11/ 2005
- Ruiz Caparrós, in charge of the *Ecologistas en Acción Andalucía* headquarters. Seville, 13/08/2006
- Montserrat Baras, political scientist at the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*. Barcelona, 19/09/2007
- Josep Puig, (second interview). Catalan Green politician, academic and renewable energy expert. Barcelona, 19/09/2007
- Santiago Vilanova, (second interview) Catalan Green politician, journalist, Green entrepreneur. Girona, 21/09/07
- Antoni García, leader of *Els Verds- Esquerra Ecologista*. Barcelona, 17/09/2007
- Ernest Urtasun, responsible for international relations in ICV. Executive member of ICV. Barcelona, 18/09/2007
- José Larios, LVA councillor for Cordoba from 1995-1999. Subsequently worked in Andalusian government ministry. Córdoba, 16/08/2008
- Joan Oms, one of the founders of the Catalan Greens, with a long and varied history. Now co-leader of CLV. Madrid, 17/10/2010

- Teresa Rubio, a Catalan Green who is regularly number 2 on various lists for *Els Verds-Opció Verda* (CLV) Madrid, 17/10/2010
- Pedro Castillo, ecologist. Candidate in local elections. An enthusiastic supporter but not member of *Ecologistas en Acción Andalucía*. Once a member of LVA (in order to stand on party list), now with IULVCA (who did not require him to become a member in order to use their name to present a list at the local elections). Several structured interviews in 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2011.

I also attended two conferences bringing together many Spanish ecologists, in the course of which I had the opportunity to listen to many views, see the organisations from the inside, and ask many informal questions of different people. These two events were as follows:

- *Ecologistas en Acción* Annual Conference held in Zarautz, Basque Country, 8-10/10/2006
- *Encuentro de Ecología* (The Ecology Assembly), Madrid, 16-17/10/2010.











I have also corresponded or facebooked quite a number of people. I do not have a record of all of these, as sometimes I just wanted to verify a small point. Amongst the more useful e-mails were:

- *Ecologistes de Catalunya* representative.
- Angel Ramírez Troyano, a Green who has been in the Andalusian regional government and has been a councillor for Cordoba.
- Jorge Riechmann, ecologist, academic and well-known exponent of ecosocialism and ecologism
- Josep Lluís Freijo, the Catalan leader of AE-EV, a Green party that usually reaches an electoral alliance with CLV and LVGV
- Esteban Cabal, leader of LVGV
- Ramón Linaza, a long time Madrid Green party member. Was number 1 on the Ecolo list for the 2011 Madrid municipal elections
- Antonio Bautista Corraliza, activist in a small left-wing Andalusian party,

NIVA

- Florent Marcellesi, previously worked at the EGP headquarters and now very active in Green politics in Spain. Behind the Equo initiative

APPENDIX H : A) Results of General Elections in Catalonia: Green Parties

| Party | 1986 | | 1989 | | 1993 | | 1996 | | 2000 | | 2004 | | 2008 | |
|--|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------------------------|----|------|----|------|----|
| | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | s | % | s | % | s |
| Els Verds (Confederació Ecologista de Catalunya)  | --- | --- | --- | --- | 1.0 | 0 | | | In coalition with EUiA | | | | | |
| Els Verds – Llista Verda  | --- | --- | 0.62 | 0 | --- | --- | | | | | --- | -- | | |
| Els Verds | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.2 | 0 |
| Els Verds – Grup Verd  | | | | | | | | | 0.44 | 0 | | | | |
| Els Verds Europeus – Alter. Ecologista de Catalunya  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.2 | 0 | | -- | --- | | | |
| Els Verds – L’Alternativa Ecologista  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | | | | -- | 0.76 | 0 | 0.34 | 0 |
| Alternativa Verda –MEC  | 0.72 | 0 | 0.82 | 0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Els Verds-Alternativa Verda  | | | | | | | | | 0.34 | 0 | 0.05 | 0 | 0.06 | 0 |
| Els Verds Ecologistes  | | | 0.77 | | 0.32 | | | | | | | | | |
| Partit Ecologista de Catalunya VERDE  | 0.37 | 0 | 0.32 | | 0.25 | | 0.11 | 0 | | -- | --- | -- | --- | -- |
| Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (IC-V)  | | | | | | | 7.64 | 2 | 3.54 | 1 | 5.84 | 2 | 4.93 | 1 |














(Source: Based on Catalan Government Website’s Election Results)

B) Results of 'Green' Parties in Elections to the Regional Parliament in Catalonia

| Party | 1988 | | 1992 | | 1995 | | 1999 | | 2003 | | 2006 | | 2010 | |
|--|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|
| | % | seats | % | seats | % | s | % | s | % | s | % | s | % | s |
| Els Verds *% | 0.3 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | -- | -- | -- | --- | --- | --- | ☉ | --- |
| Els Verds-Unió Verda *% | --- | --- | 0.53 | 0 | --- | --- | -- | -- | -- | --- | --- | --- | -- | --- |
| Els Verds (Confederació Ecologista de Catalunya) *% | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.73 | 0 | -- | -- | --- | --- | -- | -- |
| Alternativa Ecologista de Catalunya % | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.45 | 0 | | | | --- | --- | --- | -- | --- |
| Els Verds-l'Alternativa Ecologista % | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.56 | 0 | --- | --- | 0 | --- |
| Els Verds - Ecologistes i Verds de Catalunya % | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | -- | -- | --- | --- | 0.6 | 0 | | |
| Alternativa Verda-Moviment Ecologista de Catalunya % | 0.61 | 0 | 0.39 | 0 | In IC | --- | | | | --- | --- | | | |
| Els Verds-Alternativa Verda % | | | | | | | 0.26 | 0 | 0.06 | 0 | 0.11 | 0 | | |
| Els Verds Ecologistes % | 0.32 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | | | | --- | --- | --- | -- | --- |
| Los Ecologistas % | --- | --- | 0.32 | 0 | --- | --- | | | | --- | --- | --- | -- | --- |
| Els Verds - Grup Verd ☉ | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0.5 | |
| VERDE % | 0.22 | 0 | 0.29 | 0 | 0.17 | 0 | | | | --- | --- | --- | -- | --- |
| PACMA | | | | | | | | | | | 0.46 | --- | 0.45 | --- |
| Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds - ICV % | -- | -- | -- | -- | 9.71 | 11 | 2.51 | 3 | 7.28 | 9 | 9.52 | 12 | 7.39 | 10 |

(Source: Based on Catalan Government Website's Election Results)

C) Results of 'Green' Parties in Local Elections in Barcelona

| Party | 1987 | | 1991 | | 1995 | | 1999 | | 2003 | | 2007 | | 2011 | |
|---|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|---------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats |
| Barcelona Verda (coalition)  | --- | --- | 0.75 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Els Verds – Grupo Verde Europeo  | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1.01 | |
| Alternativa Ecologista de Catalunya (AEC-EVE)  | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.37 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Els Verds - L'Alternativa Ecologista  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.78 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | | |
| Els Verds – Ecopacifistes de Catalunya  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | | | --- | --- | 0.82 | 0 | | |
| Els Verds i Mès  | | | | | | | | | | | 0.52 | 0 | | |
| ERC – Els Verds  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 6.52 | 3 (1 G) | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Alternativa Verda-MEC  | 0.43 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Els Verds-Alternativa Verda  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.42 | 0 | | |
| Els Verds - Grup Verd  | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.67 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Lista Ecologista-Humanista  | --- | --- | 0.8 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| VERDE  | 0.34 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.16 | 0 | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ICV  | | | | | 7.61 | 3 | 9.54 | 4 | 6.34 | 2 | 9.35 | 4 | 10.39 | 5 |

(Source: Based on Catalan Government Website's Election Results)

D) Elections to European Parliament and votes cast in Catalonia

| Party | 1987 | | 1989 | | 1994 | | 1999 | | 2004 | | 2009 | |
|--|------|-------|------|-------|------|--|------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| | % | seats | % | seats | % | | | seats | % | seats | % | seats |
| Los Verdes * | 0.77 | 0 | | | --- | | | --- | | | | 0 |
| Llista Verda *⌘ | | | 1.22 | 0 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Els Verds – Grup Verd ☉ | | | | | 0.57 | | 1.27 | 0 | 0.6 | 0 | 0.97 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Confederación de Los Verdes ♀ | 0.77 | 0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Alternativa Verda – MEC ♀ | | | 1.45 | 0 | | | | | | | | |
| Els Verds (Confederacio Ecologista de Catalunya) ♀ | | | | | 0.99 | | | 0 | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Els Verds Ecologistes ♂ | | | 1.28 | 0 | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Partit Ecologista de Catalunya VERDE ♂ | | | 0.47 | 0 | | | | | | | | --- |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (IC-V) ⬛ | | | | | | | 5.43 | 0 | 7.17 | 1 | 6.1 | 1 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ERC – Els Verds ☒ | | | | | | | 6.06 | 0 | 11.08 | 1 | 9.21 | |
| ERC Entesa Nacionalista y Ecologista ☒ | | | | | 5.52 | | | 0 | | | | |

(Source: Based on Catalan Government Website's Election Results)

Table E A diachronic picture of the percentage of the vote obtained by all the green parties from 1986-2008 in the General (Gen), European (EP)¹⁶⁶, Local (L) and Regional (Reg) elections

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | 9 | 91 | 2 | 3 | | 5 | | |
| Gen | EP | L | Reg | EP | Gen | L | Reg | Gen | EP | L | Reg | |
| 1.09 | 1.54 | 0.77 | 1.45 | 4.42 | 2.53 | 1.5 | 1.53 | 1.57 | 1.56 | 0.37 | 0.45 | |
| | | | | | | 5 | | | | | | |
| 1996 | 1999 | 1999 | 1999 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 | 2000 |
| | | | | | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 8 | |
| Gen | EP | L | Reg | Gen | L | Reg | Gen | EP | Reg | L | Gen | |
| 0.32 | 1.27 | 0.83 | 0.99 | 0.77 | 1.76 | 0.62 | 0.81 | 0.64 | 0.71 | 0.78 | 0.59 | |

Source: adapted from Catalan Government Website Election Results)

Table F Comparing the ideology of ICV and IU voters (or those who voted for these parties at the 2008 general election)*

| | ICV % | IU % |
|-----------------|-------|------|
| Socialist | 12.6 | 18.9 |
| Communist | 17.1 | 25.7 |
| Progressive | 16.9 | NA |
| Ecologist | 20.1 | 10.2 |
| Nationalist | 4.6 | 4.9 |
| Feminist | 3.6 | 1.6 |
| Liberal | 5.4 | 9.9 |
| Social democrat | 2.7 | 6.8 |





Source: CIS Surveys 2829, Question 51: 2010; Survey 2857, Question 57: 2010

* It is important to note that the ideological differences between IU and ICV are greater than those reflected in this table because the percentages for IU include, not only IU voters but also ICV voters. If these were removed from the IU data (and ICV accounts for 18.9% of 'IU' voters) the results would doubtless differ even more.

¹⁶⁶ The figures provided in Table 5.8 refer to the percentage polled in Catalonia because the table is measuring the percentage of Catalans who chose the green option. However, it should be borne in mind that the electoral constituency for the European elections is the whole country.



APPENDIX B

Table A Results of General Elections in Andalucía: Green Parties

| Party | 1986 | | 1989 | | 1993 | | 1996 | | 2000 | | 2004 | | 2008 | |
|---|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|---------|-------|------|-------|-----------|-------|------|-------|
| | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats |
| Los Verdes de Andalucía (LVA) | --- | --- | --- | --- | 0.58 | 0 | With IU | | | | With PSOE | | 0.32 | 0 |
| Los Verdes-Lista Verde (LVA) | | | 0.76 | 0 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lista Alternativa Verde  | 0.07 | 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Los Ecologistas  | | | | | 0.24 | 0 | | | | | | | | |
| Los Verdes Ecologistas  | | | 0.46 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| VERDE  | 0.05 | 0 | 0.04 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IULV-CA | | | | | | | 13.58 | 6 | 7.8 | 3 | 6.4 | 0 | 5.11 | 0 |

(Source: Based on MIR Website 2010)

Table B: Results of Green Parties in Elections to the Regional Parliament in Andalucía

| Party | 1986 | | 1990 | | 1994 | | 1996 | | 2000 | | 2004 | | 2008 | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
| | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats | % | seats |
| Los Verdes | | | | | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | -- | --- | 0.58 | 0 |
| Verdes de Andalucía | | | 0.51 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Los Verdes Ecologistas  | | | 0.46 | | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | -- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| IU-CA | 17.91 | 19 | 12.73 | 11 | | | | | | | | | | |
| IULV-CA | | | | | 19.3 | 20** | 14.0 | 13 | 8.1 | 6 | 7.5 | 6 | 7.13 | 6 |
| | | | | | 1 | | 6 | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| NIVA  | | | | | | | | | -- | -- | 0.1 | 0 | --- | --- |
| | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | |

(*Source:* Based on the Valencian Government's Online Archive of election results 2009)

NIVA = Nueva Izquierda Verde Andaluza

**** Two of these seats were held by LVA**

APPENDIX C: ELECTION RESULTS FOR THE SPANISH GREENS 1984-1993

1. Green Votes cast in Spain in European Parliament Elections 1987 and 1989

For the sake of simplicity, generic names are given to each faction to distinguish it from other factions. In fact, a party such as Los Verdes, for example, sometimes presented itself under a different name. These different names are listed in the footnotes

| Party | 1987 | 1989 |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| | % | % |
| Los Verdes ¹⁶⁷ | 0.56 | 1.04 |
| The Catalan Greens ¹⁶⁸ | 0.34 | 0.3 |
| Los Verdes Ecologistas | | 1.02 |
| VERDE | | 0.37 |
| Total Green vote | 0.9 | 2.73 |

(Source: MIR Website 2010)

2. The Greens' statewide general elections results for 1986, 1989 and 1993

| | 1986 | | 1989 | | 1993 | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|------------|----------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|
| | Votes | % | Votes | % | Votes | % |
| Los Verdes | 31,909 | .16 | 157,103 | 0.77 | 185,940 | 0.79 |
| Alternativa Verda | 29,567 | .15 | 25,978 | 0.13 | <i>With Los Verdes</i> | |
| Los Verdes Ecologistas | ---- | --- | 136,335 | 0.67 | 68,851 | 0.29 |
| VERDE | 28,318 | .14 | 21,235 | 0.1 | --- | --- |
| 2 Other Green regional parties | -- | -- | -- | -- | 13,990 | 0.07 |
| Aggregated Green vote | 89,794 | .45 | 342,950 | 1.58 | 268,781 | 1.15 |

(Source: The MIR Website 2010)

¹⁶⁷ Los Verdes (87) ; Lista Verde (89), coalition of LV + others

¹⁶⁸ Confederación de Los Verdes (87); Alternativa Verda - Movimiento Ecologista de Catalunya (89); Els Verds (Confederacio Ecologista de Catalunya) (1994)

3. The Green vote in the 1989 general election in Madrid

| | Votes | % |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| Los Verdes | 30,495 | 1.14 |
| Los Verdes Ecologistas | 23,996 | 0.89 |
| VERDE | 4,963 | 0.18 |
| Total Green | 59,454 | 2.21 |

(*Source:* The MIR Website 2010)

APPENDIX D: AN EXTRACT FROM CHA'S OPENING STATUTE

The following opening Statute of CHA, an Aragonese left-wing 'nationalist' party founded in 1986 (like *Izquierda Unida*, in the aftermath of the NATO vote) demonstrates how CHA's discourse overlaps with that of the Greens.

CHA is a group of men and women who believe in the values of democratic socialism, and who are part of a historic struggle in the quest for freedom, democracy, tolerance, plurality, peace, dignity, solidarity and equality between individuals and different peoples. We reject any dogmatism and draw upon a number of movements - the socialist movement, movements for social and national emancipation, ecopacifist, feminist and humanist movements – to put together the basic components which will allow us to define our strategies and programmes. (CHUNTA, no date specified).

Although CHA failed to gain representation in the regional parliament in 1991 (obtaining 3.9% of the votes) it obtained a number of seats in the local elections of the same year and subsequently gained momentum in the succeeding years. The ascendancy of left-wing nationalist parties further increased competition for the Greens in other regions such as the Basque Country, Catalonia, the Balearics, Navarre and Galicia.

Source: CHA website – no date.

APPENDIX E - ELECTION RESULTS FOR THE SPANISH GREENS 1994-2010

1. 'Green' vote in General elections 1993-2008: Breakdown showing fragmentation of vote and of Green parties

| | <i>Votes total</i> | <i>Explanation of which votes are included and which are excluded.</i> |
|------|--------------------|--|
| 1993 | 268,781 1.15% | Includes all parties with a Green or ecology lable (includes 'impostors'). |
| 1996 | 93,310 0.4% | Includes Green parties who presented separate lists including three LV factions, one impostor party and a short-lived 'red-Green' party. The following are not included in the total: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ICV, the ecosocialist coalition which absorbed most Catalan Greens • LVA, the Andalusian Greens, who had joined the ranks of IU to become IU-CA-LV |
| 2000 | 146,410 0.63% | Includes 4 state-wide and one Catalan Green party. LV obtained about half of this vote, but did not present candidates in a number of regions, because of PSOE pact. Not included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • votes for the Catalan IC-V coalition (which won a seat); • votes for IU-Green coalitions in Balearics and Valencia |
| 2004 | 117,093 0.46% | Includes 9 Green parties, some regional but 5 statewide. LV did not stand statewide as the 2000 agreement with PSOE was strengthened. Despite this, a number of regional LV parties pulled out of the confederation and stood in their region. Not included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • votes for ICV (which won 2 seats) • the Balearic red-Green coalition; |
| 2008 | 98, 679 0.45% | Breakdown of LV pact with PSOE. The majority of the Green votes polled were divided between three state-wide formations: the LV Confederation, Los Verdes Europeos and Los Verdes-Grupo Verde. The designated 'official' Green party, the Confederation – recognised by the EFGP – polled only 41.531. Pacma obtained 44,795 votes Vote registered does not include red-Green parties or alliances. |

(Source: Data based on MIR Website 2009)

2. ICV's Results in the General Elections 1996-2008

(Results are for Catalonia, the only place where ICV presents a list)

| Year | No. of votes | Seats |
|------|--------------|--|
| 1996 | 296,985 | 2 |
| 2000 | 119,290 | 1 |
| 2004 | 234,790 | 2 (one elected MP, Joan Herrera, is an ecologist) |
| 2008 | 183,338 | 1 (Joan Herrera is elected) |

(Source: MIR Website 2010)

3. European Parliament election results 1994-2009: Spanish Green party results

| Year | Party | % | Green MEP |
|------|--|-------------|------------------|
| 1994 | Los Verdes - Grupo Verde | 0.59 | |
| | Els Verds | 0.23 | |
| | Total Green vote for '94 | 0.82 | |
| 1999 | Los Verdes – Izquierdas de los Pueblos | 1.42 | |
| | Los Verdes - Grupo Verde | 0.66 | |
| | Total Green vote for '99 | 2.08 | |
| 2004 | Los Verdes - Grupo Verde | 0.44 | |
| | ICV (with Izquierda Unida) | --- | 1 ¹⁶⁹ |
| | Nueva Izquierda Verde (New Green Left) | 0.04% | |
| | Los Verdes (in PSOE alliance) | ---- | 1 |
| 2009 | Europa de los Pueblos – Verdes (Europe of the People – Greens) | 2.49% | 1/10th |
| | ICV (with Izquierda Unida) | 3.71% | 1 ¹⁷⁰ |
| | Los Verdes - Grupo Verde Europeo | 0.56 | |
| | Partido antitaurino contra el maltrato animal | 0.26 | |
| | Por un mundo más justo | 0.15 | |

(Source: MIR Website 2010)

¹⁶⁹ IU-ICV obtained 2 MEPs. Only 1 is listed here – the ICV ecologist Raul Romeva











¹⁷⁰ IU-ICV obtained 2 MEPs. Only 1 is listed here – the ICV ecologist Raul Romeva















4. Number of Green Party Lists per Province for March 2008 General Election















| Number of Green lists per electoral district (i.e. per province) | |
|--|--------------|
| 0 list in | 1 province |
| 1 list in | 22 provinces |
| 2 lists in | 24 provinces |
| 3 lists in | 5 provinces |

(Source: MIR Website 2010)

5. Green Party Lists Presented at Most Recent Regional Elections

| Region /election year | Logo | Party or coalition | English name | % of vote | Seats |
|-----------------------|---|--|--|-----------|-------------|
| Andalucía 2008 |  | Los Verdes de Andalucía | The Andalusian Greens | 0.57 | 0 |
| Aragón 2011 |  | Ecolo | | 0.67 | 0 |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.32 | |
| Asturias 2011 |  | Izquierda Unida - Bloque por Asturias – Los Verdes de Asturias | United Left- Asturian Bloc – The Asturian Greens | 10.3 | 4 (0 Green) |
| |  | -Los Verdes Grupo Verde) | The Greens – Green Group | 0.6 | 0 |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.31 | 0 |
| Balearic Islands 2007 |  | PSM-IV-EXM | A Majorcan left-wing coalition | 8.61 | 4 (1 Green) |
| |  | Eivissa pel Canvi | Ibiza for Change (IU and Greens) | 0.49 | 0 |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.39 | 0 |
| |  | Els Verds de Menorca. | Minorcan Greens | 0.15 | 0 |

| Region/ election year | Logo | Party or coalition | English name | % of vote | Seats |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|--------------|--------------|
| Basque Country 2009 |  | Berdeak Los Verdes | Greens | 0.54 | 0 |
| Catalonia 2010 |  | Els Verds - Ecologistes i Verds de Catalunya (EV-EVC) | Greens – Ecologists and Greens of Catalonia | 0.6% | 0 |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.45 | 0 |
| |  | Els Verds – Grup Verd | | 0.5 | 0 |
| |  | ICV - Esquerra.Unida i Alternativa | (ICV – United and Alternative Left) | 7.37 | 10 (4 Green) |
| Canary Islands 2011 |  | Los Verdes de Canarias | The Canary Islands Greens | 2.07 | 0 |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.36 | 0 |
| Cantabria 2011 |  | IU-IA Izquierda Social y Ecologista | The Social and Ecologist Left | 3.31 | 0 |
| Castille- La Mancha 2011 |  | Ecolo Verdes | Ecolo Greens | 0.14 | 0 |
| |  | Los Verdes – Grupo Verde | The Greens – Green Group | 0.2 | 0 |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.35 | 0 |
| Castille & Leon 2011 |  | Los Verdes de Salamanca | The Salamanca Greens | 0.19 | 0 |
| |  | Los Verdes – Grupo Verde | The Greens – Green Group | 0.18 | 0 |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.37 | 0 |

| Region/ election year | Logo | Party or coalition | English name | % of vote | Seats |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|--------------|----------------|
| Extrema —dura 2011 |  | Ecolo Verdes | Ecolo Greens | 0.58 | 0 |
| |  | IU-V-SIEX (Socialistas Independientes de Extremadura) | IU-Greens- Extremadura Independent Socialists coalition | 5.57 | 3 |
| Galicia 2009 |  | Os Verdes-Grupo Verde | The Greens – Green Group | 0.36 | 0 |
| La Rioja 2011 |  | Ecolo-Verdes | | 1.23 | 0 |
| Madrid 2011 |  | Los Verdes(LV, LVCM y LV-GV) | Greens (a coalition of most Green parties) | 1.12 | 0 |
| |  | IU-LVGV | 9.61 | 13 | |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.53 | 0 |
| Murcia 2011 |  | Izquierda Unida + Los Verdes | United Left + Greens | 7.83 | 1 (0 Green) |
| |  | LV-Ecolo | | 1.18 | 0 |
| Navarre 2011 |  | Ecolo –Verdes de Navarra | | 1.3 | 0 |
| |  | Izquierda-Ezquerria LVGV | IU and LVGV | 5.7 | 3 |
| Valencia 2011 |  | Verds i Ecopacifistes (coalition of 3 Green parties) | Greens and Ecopacifists | 1.28 | 0 |
| |  | Iniciativa del Poble Valencià y Els Verds in Coalició Compromís | ‘Valencia Initiative and the Greens’ in a wider left Coalition | 7.4 | 6 (1 Green) |
| |  | P.Antitaurí contra Maltractament Animal | Pact against bullfighting and cruelty to animals | 0.37 | 0 |

(**Source:** Data compiled from sources including El País & regional government websites)

6. Votes polled by Green parties in the 2008 general election

| Parties | Total votes |
|---|-------------|
| Los Verdes (Confederation) | 49,355 |
| Los Verdes – Grupo Verde (LVGV) | 41,119 |
| Los Verdes Europeos (LVE) | 20,419 |
| All parties including a Green component in their name | 621,981 |

(*Source:* MIR website 2008)

7. Statewide General Election Results for Izquierda Unida

| Year | % Total | Seats |
|------|---------|-------|
| 1986 | 4.63 | 7 |
| 1989 | 9.07 | 17 |
| 1993 | 9.55 | 18 |
| 1996 | 10.54 | 21 |
| 2000 | 5.45 | 8 |
| 2004 | 4.96 | 5 |
| 2008 | 3.77 | 2 |

(*Source:* MIR website 2008)

1. Extract from an article in *El País* on political ecology in Spain

Although Spain's PESM started out in the early 1970s and, since then, has been extraordinarily active and diversified, the fact is that its electoral impact as a political party has been rather poor until now. What are the reasons for this apparently contradictory state of affairs? Firstly, there's no doubt that the vast majority of PESM leaders and members have never been in favour of giving up their daily struggle in order to become involved in setting up green parties. Moreover, the political situation during the transition made it advisable for ecologists to keep out of the electoral process in order not to divide the left even further, particularly given that a high percentage of ecologists still pinned their hopes on the left at the end of the 70s and in the early 80s.

As these hopes began to fade, the appearance on the scene of a whole raft of divided green parties, sometimes led by opportunists and sometimes parties of a rather dubious green pedigree, increased the voters' confusion and contributed to splitting the green vote and the progressive vote. The issue of the historic 'nations' and the reluctance of the nationalist-ecologist parties to join a 'state-wide' party has done nothing to make matters easier. Fortunately, the recent conference for unification and the creation of a confederation of green parties seem to have brought an end to this divisive period. Moreover, unlike other countries where the Greens are the only progressive alternative to social democracy, in Spain it is possible that some of the potential green vote will be shared between United left and the progressive nationalist parties, as the latter all tend to incorporate an environmental angle to many of their ideas.

(*Source*: *Pastor & López de Uralde in *El País*, 01/04/93)

2. Key Points in 1993 Green Manifesto Published Before General Election

1. Close all nuclear power plants in 10 years
2. Draw up new Water Plan, prioritising water-saving measures, recycling etc
3. Reduce greenhouse gas emissions
4. Support rail travel
5. Introduce a solidarity pact to reduce working week and share out jobs.
6. Apply an ecotax on goods with environmental impact; use income to create environmental jobs.
7. Free those in prison for refusing to do military service; reform laws on conscientious objection, work towards doing away with military service.
8. Reform electoral laws and the financing of parties.
9. Introduce a law against sexual discrimination
10. Make abortion law more liberal
11. Scrap anti immigration law.
12. Set aside 0.7% of GDP for Third World development.

Source: El País 03/06/1993)

3. Article Announcing the Creation of a New Spanish Green Party in 2001

New Green- Green Left federation launched in Madrid

Over 600 high-spirited delegates ... the most serious attempt ever to put Green politics on the map in nation-wide Spanish politics on May 19.

Federación Los Verdes-Izquierda Verde (Greens-Green left)

Greens and regional Green-left parties like *Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds*, *Izquierda Democrática Cántabra* and *Izquierda Madrileña*, among others*, have come together to put forward a viable Green political option differentiated from the Socialist Party and the neo-communist *Izquierda Unida*. The new Green federation is already represented by hundreds of local council members, over a dozen regional parliamentarians and one member of the national parliament.

This new broad-based Green-left federation, in which the *Confederación de Los Verdes* plays a key role, is by far the most serious, feasible and innovative political proposal put forward by the Spanish Greens. Until now the regional and linguistic divisions of Spanish politics, added to the generally difficult context for Green Parties in southern Europe, have meant fairly hard times for Los Verdes. The consolidation and the emergence of the new Green Federation in the coming months may well mean a very positive turn of the tide.

This is an alliance of the Greens with “renovated left” parties that clearly identify with the European Greens. With time we hope this federation will become a clear reference point for all those seeking a serious and possible Green option that is badly needed on the Spanish political scene.

David Hammerstein, International spokesperson for Los Verdes

* The Federation also included the Valencian party *Esquerra Verda-Esquerda*

(Source: Hammerstein 2001)

4. Letter from Monica Frassoni, EGP Co-Spokeperson to Joan Oms, spokesperson of CLV

Dear Joan Oms,

As you know, a notice has gone out announcing that two Confederal Councils are to take place this coming Saturday, at the same time but in different places. The meetings have been set up by two different lots of people. I'm sure you will agree with me that this situation signals an important problem with the day to day operation of the Confederation as well as going against the EGP's Road Map for Spain which we agreed upon in March when we met in Barcelona.

Having analyzed the situation, it seems to me that your actions do not demonstrate a constructive wish to enable the process agreed upon with the EGP: it was only after a legal representative announced that there would be a Council meeting in Madrid – given your reluctance to hold this meeting, as established in the Statutes and in previous agreements – that the Secretary of the organisation set up an alternative meeting in Barcelona on the same day and at the same hour.

This decision has taken place in a context in which you have refused, for reasons that we don't understand at all, to take part in organising this summer's 'Green University' weekend in Navarre.

Most of the parties within the Confederation have made it clear that they will be going to the Madrid meeting to set up a process of re-establishing the Confederation, by naming a representative management body. We believe the Madrid meeting could provide the right framework to move forward as far as establishing a new understanding and regeneration of the Confederation as a political body in Spain.

This is why the EGP is requesting that you immediately and irrevocably call off the Barcelona Council meeting, and instead take part in the Madrid meeting set up for Saturday 12th June. Furthermore, we would like to make it clear that if you do not follow the EGP's proposed course of action then we will understand that you are cutting yourself off from the road map agreements we agreed upon. I would therefore urge you to reconsider and sign up to the convergence process.

I would also like to stress that, if you decide not to respond to this call for unity and for working together – something which should be a priority for you as Spokesperson for the Confederation, then the EGP is going to propose that, to avoid any legal comeback, the Madrid meeting is an informal preparatory meeting to set up an extraordinary council.

However, I would like to specify that any legal recourse – with a view to obtain or hold on to a possible legal control of the party – will be seen by the EGP as a backward step that is highly counterproductive to the green project in Spain as it would only prolong a process which has up till now been in its death throes.

The EGP can only see one political solution, an agreement that would be fair to everyone concerned, including those who are presently outside the Confederation, and that would establish a solid and democratic foundation for a common project which prioritises the aim of defending political ecology in Spain, leaving all personal ambitions to one side.

I hope to see you on Saturday. Yours truly,
Monica

Source: Coordinadora de los Verdes: june, 2010

APPENDIX G:

1. The Ten Ideological Principles of Ecologistas en Acción

1. The well-being and diversity of our environment is so important that it should condition our ideas about economic development. We must prioritise human development and the equitable satisfaction of our needs
2. We are opposed to the dominant economic model of constant development and the notion that growth can be limitless. We are therefore opposed to capitalism, productivism and consumerism.
3. We must put in place adequate policies to preserve our natural environment (land and species). We are, however, opposed to the conservation of isolated areas. All of our natural environment needs to be part of a planning policy which favours sustainable development which does not further undermine the survival of this natural environment.
4. We call for clean industries which do not pollute seas, air, land, food, and therefore endanger human health - 'end of pipe' technology is inadequate.
- 5.- We are wholly opposed to nuclear power – as a means of generating electricity or as a weapon. We favour the development of alternative energies, particularly those produced locally
- 6.- Animals have rights and we have responsibilities towards them.
- 7.- The present economic world order is unacceptable: the huge disparity between the developed countries and the Third world countries is unacceptable as is our economic colonisation and exploitation of these countries. We are in favour of the international free movement of people.
8. Information and knowledge should be free: we are against the patenting of genetic information and the development and use of genetically modified crops.
9. We believe in a participatory democracy which is as decentralised as possible. Within this democracy information should be accessible to all. We are against the manipulation of the media by government and the big

(Source: EA 2005)

APPENDIX H

Article which appeared in *El Mundo* (12/01/2004) explaining the controversy surrounding the greens' decision to enter into an electoral alliance with PSOE

Most green parties reject an alliance which would see them standing on the same ticket as PSOE at the next elections.

Most of the regional green parties will stand alone at the general election on March 14th rather than as part of PSOE, despite the Green Confederal Executive Committee's decision last Saturday to sign a pre-electoral pact with the socialists. Josep Lluís Freijo, spokesperson for Els Verds–L'Alternativa Ecologista (a Catalan green party called the Greens-the Environmental Alternative) and one of the founders of the green political movement in 1983 ... last night sent the executives of PSOE, IU and ICV a communiqué in which he stated that 'the Greens' putative statewide pacts with the socialists fly in the face of reality'.

Freijo made it clear that the Greens' Confederal Committee is dominated in an 'anti-democratic way' by the Andalusian branch of the party, which was responsible for the agreement with the socialists. According to Freijo, only the Andalusian and the Valencian greens voted in favour of an agreement with the socialists while the other green parties in the confederation either abstained, voted against, didn't attend the meeting or else couldn't vote for procedural reasons'.

Present at the meeting were representatives from Andalucía, Valencia, Castille and Leon, the Balearic Islands, Madrid, La Rioja, the Canary Islands and Extremadura, as the spokesperson for the committee was able to confirm. Freijo pointed out that the greens in Extremadura, Murcia, the Canary Islands, Catalonia and Madrid will stand alone at the election whilst in Aragón the greens will either stand alone or forge an alliance with IU. Asturias and La Rioja will decide on their course of action next Saturday at a regional party conference whilst the Balearic Islands have already agreed to enter into a multiparty coalition.

Use of the Green label.

In his statement to PSOE, IU and ICV, Freijo added: 'It must be made clear that most of the key founding members of the Greens are not going to allow anyone to use the Green name in order to feather their own nest'.

'If these kind of set-ups are approved, then all of us – NGOs, trade unions, social movements, the media and society in general - are going to expose parties who sign up to such a scam'.

PSOE highlights the importance of the agreement reached

The spokesperson for PSOE, Carme Chacón, highlighted 'the electoral importance of the agreement reached with the Greens', arguing that the elections are going to be 'very tough' and that in some districts you can win or lose a seat by just a few votes. She also stated that different green parties usually get about 200,000 votes in general elections.

APPENDIX I

The Daimiel Proposal – A Declaration of Ecological Principles

The Federation of the Spanish Ecology Movement 1978

1. We cannot dominate nature, or save just a few isolated spots. We must collaborate with nature
2. Progress implies greater solidarity and improved living conditions. We are opposed to economic growth per se and to the progress of the dominant social classes
3. We are therefore in favour of people's enjoyment of life and each other in a way that is anticonsumerist. We don't want more material things, but a better relationship between people
4. Work is necessary but should be a freely entered into activity in which there is no exploitation.
5. We are anti capitalist production, opposed to bureaucratic socialism and the accumulation of power.
6. We are against nuclear power and nuclear weapons
7. We are in favour of the regions enjoying more devolved power – however that is organised – and generally favour a plural approach to life and self regulation in the workplace.
8. WE are opposed to our patriarchal and phallocratic society's oppression or exclusion of anyone who isn't a so-called standard male.
9. We want to manifest our solidarity to all of the earth's inhabitants and particularly to the Third World. We deplore the fact that these countries' natural resources are exploited and that our governments exploit these countries by setting up their filthiest industries in them.
10. We are opposed to the territorial imbalance which exists between the different regions of Spain and deplore the desertification, poverty and mass emigration from some of these areas. We call on the imbalances between the different nationalities and regions within Spain to be corrected.
11. We call on the right to have free information and oppose the interference of capitalist interests in the media
12. Popular debate must be the basic tool to transform society.

The following points still need to be covered: Revolution and ecology, whether we should be anthropocentric or not as regards nature, our relationship with political parties, non-violence, the army, imperialism, multinationals, encouraging demographic growth or otherwise.

Source: A summary translation of the original Manifesto. Adapted from Cabal (1996: 131)

APPENDIX J

Two contrasting texts demonstrating the gap between the Andalusian government's EM and SD discourse and EA's objections to the hollowness of this discourse.

a) THE ANDALUSIAN WATER ACCORD

INTRODUCTION TO THE WATER BILL AND ACCORD

(Published on the Andalusian Government Website)

This bill is the outcome of a process of *dialogue and consensus* which was embarked upon in June 2008 by *all stakeholders* in order to reach an agreement about Andalusia's long-term strategic water policy. The Andalusian Water Accord, which was *unanimously passed* by the Andalusian Water Council at its meeting on December 5th (the only abstention came from Ecologistas en Acción) was officially approved by the President of the Andalusian Government in February 2009.

The Andalusian Water Accord represented a *broad social consensus* about a *new water culture* that was *based on sustainability, guarantees, responsibility and solidarity*. Its starting premise is that water is considered to be *an indispensable and irreplaceable common good* and *a finite and very vulnerable resource* that must be *conserved and protected*.

The *process of dialogue* initiated by the Accord continued during the process of *disseminating information to the public* during the drafting of the law. This resulted in 1,300 queries or objections being raised on the matter, more than 80% of which have been *dealt with entirely* or partially.

Source:

http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/medioambiente/site/web/menuitem.a5664a214f73c3df81d8899661525ea0/?vgnextoid=a6d4b70675174210VgnVCM1000001325e50aRCD&vgnnextchannel=3259b19c7acf2010VgnVCM1000001625e50aRCD&lr=lang_es)

b) WE DID NOT SIGN THE ANDALUSIAN WATER ACCORD

Reasons why EAA did not sign the Andalusian Water Agreement on February 3rd, 2009 (a prelude to a new Water Law being introduced in the region).

1. There is no control over water demand
2. Town planning regulations are still allowed to favour unsustainable levels of growth and therefore an increase in water consumption, thereby contravening the recommendations set by Agenda 21 and Andalusia's Spatial Plan.
3. Permission continues to be given for golf clubs to irrigate the land with water from aquifers and rivers.
4. Illegal water extraction is still not controlled.
5. There are no specific measures to control water demands in new housing developments, particular in areas where there is very little water.
6. any tax on water is limited to urban users.

Source: EAA Website, 01/02/2009, at:

<https://www.ecologistasenaccion.org/spip.php?article13485>

APPENDIX K: Extracts from a document approved at the 2009 Conference of the Partido Andalucista.

CHANGING TIMES, NEW IDEAS; THE RENEWAL OF ANDALUSIAN NATIONALISM AS AN ANSWER TO THE PROBLEMS OF ANDALUCIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

AN IDEOLOGICAL DEFINITION

Andalusian nationalism is a renewed, progressive and ecologist force.

1. The PA is a revitalised nationalist party, adapted to present circumstances which are determined by globalisation. It is fighting to obtain the greatest power possible for the people of Andalucia and it defends democracy and cooperative federalism as basic principles to achieve the territorial organisation of Spain, Europe and the rest of the world.
2. We defend the historic values of the democratic and progressive left: freedom, equality and personal and collective autonomy.
3. We want to bring solutions and hope to 21st century Andalucia, as a nation within a global context. We want to achieve an economic activity that ensures the greatest wellbeing to the people of Andalucia and we want to ensure that this is compatible with looking after our natural resources so that progress is sustainable rather than ephemeral.

We include the key principles of political ecology

The present patterns of production, distribution and consumption, inherited from a model of industrialisation with a very high environmental impact, are the clearest proof of the inviability of the present globalised capitalist system which ignores the limits of the planet's biophysical system. Global warming and climate change, the fact that our energy model is outdated, the lack of basic foods and the destruction of our resources are not only endangering the future of humanity but are a hidden factor in the system's present state of crisis.

The kind of development that has been dominant in Andalucia since the 1960s has not just shown a lack of responsibility but has constituted an unprecedented attack on our land, one that has sometimes caused irreversible or very long-term harm. Political practice, although it has been disguised in the last few years in high-flung rhetoric about sustainability, has produced an environmental disaster in our region. It has spoilt our shores, has destroyed the heart of our cities, has threatened the survival of our countryside, has destroyed much of our biodiversity and has contributed to the process of desertification, the pollution of our rivers or a wasteful water consumption.

The key to changing this model consists in internalising environmental costs within the economy. Physical capital is a productive factor that needs to be assessed and replaced like any other assets. Our prices should give the real environmental costs. Wasting our natural resources and destabilising the world's climate cannot continue to be done at no cost. We must prepare a transition to another model of production and consumption that respects nature's limits. We must move towards another model of progress which ensures the present and future of Andalucía, and thus contributes to our world and to the planet's sustainability. We must opt for a model of progress that guarantees the conservation of our defining cultural and natural heritage so that it can be enjoyed and valued by forthcoming generation, and a quality of life that allows the people of Andalucía to have a quality of life which ensures them the greatest possible happiness and wellbeing.

(26/05/09 CAMBIO DE ÉPOCA, NUEVAS IDEAS:
LA RENOVACIÓN DEL ANDALUCISMO COMO RESPUESTA A LOS
PROBLEMAS DE ANDALUCÍA EN EL SIGLO XXI.
(Definición ideológica y estratégica del Partido Andalucista.)
DOCUMENTO APROBADO EN EL XV CONGRESO)
[http://www.partidoandalucista.org/and/images/documentos_politicos/xvideologica.p](http://www.partidoandalucista.org/and/images/documentos_politicos/xvideologica.pdf)
[df](http://www.partidoandalucista.org/and/images/documentos_politicos/xvideologica.p)

Appendix L

Data taken from a survey in which Andalusians were asked to categorise themselves as ecological or not, on a scale from 1-10. This data focuses on those who defined themselves as 10, or very 'ecological'.

| | Total % | Total number |
|--|-------------|------------------|
| Andalusians who classed themselves as 'very ecological' | 22.3 | 1,406,497 |
| Age of this group | | |
| 18 - 24 | 13.5 | 100,564 |
| 25 - 44 | 23.6 | 629,516 |
| 45 - 64 | 27.3 | 480,763 |
| Over 65 | 17.3 | 195,655 |
| Work Status | | |
| Employed | 24.4 | 741,416 |
| Unemployed | 24.6 | 120,608 |
| Of working age, not seeking employment | 19.6 | 544,473 |
| Occupation (categorised according to Spanish system) | | |
| Group A (professionals, managers) | 25.2 | 171,512 |
| Group B (white-collar workers) | 25.8 | 348,847 |
| Group C (blue-collar workers) | 24.2 | 159,110 |
| Number of persons in the home | | |
| 1 person | 19.1 | 79,382 |
| 2 people | 18.7 | 257,944 |
| 3 people | 21.8 | 331,873 |
| 4 people | 25.2 | 472,819 |
| 5 or more people | 23.6 | 264,479 |
| Location | | |
| Capital city of a province | 25.4 | 495,051 |
| Towns with over 10,000 inhabitants | 20.3 | 565,278 |
| Municipality with less than 10,000 inhabitants | 22.0 | 346,168 |
| Education | | |
| Illiterate/No education/primary education only | 18.5 | 381,299 |
| Secondary school until 14 | 24.4 | 441,486 |
| Secondary school until 18 | 22.0 | 214,548 |
| Further education | 23.9 | 87,843 |
| University education | 26.1 | 281,321 |

Source: Adapted and translated from IEA 2008: 4.1

APPENDIX M: A summary of the CIS 2680 Survey (2007) on Spaniards' attitudes to the environment

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| How informed are you on environmental matters? | Fairly well informed 37.1% | Poorly informed 50.9% |
| (You are well informed) Where do you get your information from? | Media 82.3% | EMOs 10.7% |
| What are two worst problems where you live? | Too many vehicles 13.6% | Pollution 12.9% |
| What are the two worst environmental problems in Spain? | Water shortage 18.3% | Pollution 16.8% |
| Who is most responsible for tackling environmental problems where you live? | Local authority 30.7% | Everyone 24.4% |
| Do you always use low-watt lightbulbs? | Yes 33.9% | Sometimes 29.4% |
| Do you regularly get around on foot or by bike? | Yes 47% | Sometimes 27.4% |
| Do you take part in activities to protect the environment (cleaning up, tree planting etc) | Yes 3.2% | Sometimes 12.2% |
| Do you try to save water? | Yes 49.4% | Sometimes 24.2% |
| Do you avoid using a car for environmental reasons? | Yes 5.5% | Sometimes 17.6% |
| Protecting the environment is: | Urgent 69.1% | A problem for the future 23.5% |
| Do you try to do your bit for the environment, even if it costs time and money? | Yes 43.3% | No 29.9% |
| When shopping, do you try to buy packaging that can be recycled (jars etc)? | Yes 22% | Sometimes 39.7% |
| Do you buy organic products or products that do not damage the environment? | Yes 11.6 % | Sometimes 43.6% |
| Which source of energy is most risky for our health? | Nuclear energy 58.2% | Oil 14% |
| Is global warming a fact? | Yes 82.9% | No 5.7% |
| Should we protect the environment even if it slows down economic growth? | Yes 65.9% | |
| Are you in favour of the 'polluter pays' principle? | Yes 90.7% | No 3.2% |
| Who should protect the environment? | Government and citizens 74% | Government 18.7 |

APPENDIX N: ARTICLE 48 OF THE IULVCA STATUTES.

IULVCA defends a left-wing vision of Andalusian politics as one element of our federal and republican vision of the Spanish state; we also seek to achieve the greatest degree of self-government for Andalucía. We aim to establish this within the framework of a project that promotes solidarity, within a Europe of the workers and the peoples, advocating a new internationalism approach which goes beyond a Eurocentric approach. This Eurocentrism is all too dominant in the face of our present circumstances: migratory flows, cultural expoliation, economic exploitation and environmental disaster in the poor areas of the planet.

IULV-CA is committed to Peace, to demilitarising our security, in favour of a democratically governed world in which the UN is restructured to respect international law. We are also committed to cooperation and conflict prevention.

IULVCA will continue to demand an Andalucía which is free of foreign military bases and non-nuclear. In this way, we will contribute towards an autonomous, alternative and antinuclear European security programme.

IULV-CA is fully aware of the fact that today, more than ever, the alternative, anticapitalist society that we are fighting for is being built at world level.





IULV-CA makes a strategic commitment to the development and strengthening of the antiglobalisation movement by through the Andalusian local social for a or any other kind of organisations that might be set up.

IULV-CA activists should take part in these fora in order to build bridges between the antiglobalisation movement and traditional movements such as trade unions or neighbourhood movements.

Source: IULVCA Statutes 2011

APPENDIX O: A COMPARISON OF ICV AND THE SCOTTISH GREENS' ELECTION MANIFESTOS.

The following document juxtaposes these two manifestos to indicate that they share fairly similar objectives. However, as the colour-coding indicates (approximately), the Scottish Greens are certainly more Green than ICV whilst the latter has clearly defined socialist objectives. Both parties advocate policies and an approach in line with progressive democratic values.

| | | | |
|---|--|---|-----------------|
|  | Discourse that is socialist |  | Green discourse |
|  | Discourse that is democratic discourse |  | Nationalist |

| ICV-EUiA Manifesto 2006 | Scottish Green Party Manifesto 2007 |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Social justice for Catalonia. Good social services and fight .v. exclusion and poverty. Promoting people's autonomy and providing support to all families</p> <p>Commitment to children specially those at risk. Commitment to the elderly and the disabled and their right to independence and dignity. Right to proper housing/good health care</p> <p>Promote responsible consumers and give rights to consumers</p> <p>Integration of immigrants and recognition of diversity.</p> <p>2. CATALUNYA, promoting a new model of production: competitive and sustainable</p> <p>Competitvity must be linked to quality jobs. More stress on social economy and self employed. Talk about service sector, tourism and commerce</p> <p>Developmnet of rural areas and fisheries.</p> <p>Regional financing, tax policies etc.</p> <p>3. CATALUNYA, moving towards sustainability</p> <p>Town and country planning; countryside, biodiversity etc./</p> | <p>1: An economy for people and planet</p> <p>Sustainable communities</p> <p>Supporting local business</p> <p>Fair, clear and Green taxation</p> <p>Poverty</p> <p>Public services in the public interest</p> <p>A revolution in the food economy</p> <p>Tackling waste</p> <p>Green jobs – fair jobs</p> <p>Strengthening rural livelihoods</p> <p>A sustainable tourism industry</p> <p>Science and technology</p> <p>2: Healthy communities and a good quality of life for all</p> <p>Decent housing for all</p> <p>Education</p> <p>Schools</p> <p>Further and higher education</p> <p>Outdoor education and eco-schools</p> <p>Health</p> <p>Prevention better than cure</p> <p>Public and community health</p> <p>NHS Reform</p> <p>Carers and caring</p> <p>Mental health</p> <p>Sexual health</p> <p>Complementary and alternativemedicine</p> <p>Drugs, alcohol and tobacco</p> <p>Children, young people and families</p> <p>Pensioners</p> |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>sustainable transport; new water management; new energy policies; better waste management; protecting animals; preventing climate change and pollution. More sustainable production and consumption. Environmental taxation; environmental education and citizens' involvement.</p> <p>4. Education system : universities, research. Information and knowledge society Cultural rights; Catalan; sport</p> <p>5. A radical democracy and different approach to globalisation</p> <p>5.1 A radical democracy and citizens' participation. Equal rights for all minorities (GLBTs etc); peace promoters; international solidarity and promoting third world development.</p> <p>6. INSTITUTIONS THAT SERVE OUR CITIZENS More home rule ; better public safety, justice ; Catalonia and external relations with Europe ; more independent and plural broadcasting system.</p> <p>7. Helping young people to become more independent from their parents at a younger age</p> <p>8. Real equality between the sexes.</p> | <p>Sport and green spaces The arts Crime Justice for young people Liberty Equality and diversity 3: Stopping the Supertanker: Energy and Climate Change</p> <p>Decentralised energy Nuclear power? Still no thanks! Adapting to climate change Innovative measures</p> <p>Energy policy Energy efficient, warm homes Serious about renewables</p> <p>4: Transport: moving Scotland in the right direction Road safety and social exclusion Walking Cycling Buses and trams Affordable, reliable rail services Freight and ferries Roads Air travel</p> <p>5: A healthy and productive natural environment Reconnecting people with the land Farming Treating nature and wildlife with respect Protecting the marine environment Supporting sustainable fisheries Ending animal cruelty</p> <p>6: Scotland: A Responsible Global Citizen Peace and security Trade, aid and debt Independence Governance, parliament and democracy Asylum</p> |
|---|---|

Source: ICV-EuiA 2006 ; Scottish Green Party 2007

APPENDIX P: LVA Manifesto for 2007 Municipal elections in Cordoba (summary)

Town planning: Respect Cordoba's traditional character and avoid inappropriate new buildings. Keep city compact and Mediterranean.

Climate change: More solar panels. Sign up to become a sustainable city

Employment: Support the social economy and create more green jobs

Economy: Support local businesses, prevent building of huge hypermarkets and promote environmental businesses to promote ecological modernisation policies

Tourism and trade: Promote sustainable tourism. Improve networks of paths in the countryside

Housing: Tax on unoccupied houses (30% of total housing) to encourage renting; build more social housing; do up houses in city centre using ecological criteria

Transport: Promote measures that favour the majority (e.g. trains and public transport); priority to pedestrians, cyclists and public transport. Reduce parking spaces in city centre and increase bus lanes. Ban cars in city centre

Environment: Prevent the indiscriminate cutting down of trees, both in the city and in private gardens. Extensive tree-planting programme required. Set up two new parks and some allotments. Strengthen the role and resources of local government department in charge of environmental matters.

Nuclear Waste: The Cabril nuclear waste site must be shut down in 2009.

Environmental health: Noise abatement needed; set up a department for consumers, environmental health and food safety. Strongly promote organic food. Measures needed to enhance status of botanic gardens and to protect the river.

Cordoba Capital of Culture 2016. Ensure involvement of all society and ensure that companies taking part are socially responsible.

New technologies: Reduce social chasm by providing free IT, software and access to databases of local museums and libraries.

Social questions: Work to avoid exclusion; ensure all companies and public sector bodies set aside 0.7% of income to provide aid to developing countries.

Security: Prioritise protection of countryside, animals and city centre itself.

Festivals: Reduce noise and street lighting during festivals. Provide no money towards organisation of bullfighting festivals.

Sport: Promote non-competitive sport for all. Encourage the use of open-air facilities.

Participatory democracy: Have representatives on town council representing different sectors of society. Employ referendums for big issues; Create the role of an ombudsman.

Source: *LV-Cordoba 2007

